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**OR**

## THE DOCTRINE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

UPON

## THE INCARNATION

OF

GOD THE SON.





7 JESUS THE SON OF MARY,

OR

THE DOCTRINE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

UPON

THE INCARNATION

OF

GOD THE SON,

CONSIDERED

IN ITS BEARINGS UPON THE REVERENCE

SHEWN BY CATHOLICS

TO

HIS BLESSED MOTHER.

BY THE )

REV. JOHN BRANDE | MORRIS, M.A.

SOMETIME PETREAN FELLOW OF EXETER COLLEGE, OXFORD;  
AND NOW ONE OF THE PROFESSORS AT PRIOR PARK.

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"De justo Patre secundum Divinam, et de justâ Matre secundum humanam  
naturam, justus ab ipsâ origine Christus natus est."

*S. Anselm. Cantuar. de Conc. Virg. cap. xx.*

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VOL. I.

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1851.

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TO  
THE MOST EMINENT PRINCE  
NICHOLAS WISEMAN,  
CARDINAL OF THE HOLY ROMAN CHURCH,  
ARCHBISHOP OF WESTMINSTER,  
&c. &c. &c.  
WHOSE WELL-KNOWN ZEAL  
IN PROMOTING DEVOTION  
TO  
THE BLESSED MOTHER OF JEHOVAH  
MAKES THE ACCEPTANCE OF THIS LONG-PROMISED DEDICATION  
A SWEET ADDITION  
TO MANY KINDNESSES PREVIOUSLY RECEIVED  
FROM HIS EMINENCE,  
THIS WORK IS RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED  
BY HIS EMINENCE'S  
GRATEFUL AND ADMIRING SERVANT,  
THE AUTHOR.

1490419



## PREFACE.

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It may seem a bold thing to offer to the English public a Work like the present, which necessarily treats of such doctrinal questions, as may, to those unused to theology, appear intricate and uninteresting. To those who look at the title of this Work with any such prepossession, it may be suggested to read the Second Part of the Work, before they enter upon the speculative portions of the Work contained in the First and Third Parts.

The Incarnation is a strange and new thing upon the earth: the Second Part of this Work deals with this strange thing more as matter of fact than of theory. The other two Parts may be said to consider the principles of our Lord and King's policy in becoming incarnate, not of the stones or of the earth, but of a Woman. The ancients discussed, whether facts or principles should be put before people first; and the reader can decide for himself which of the two he should wish to enter upon before the other.

In regard to the principles here adopted, the writer has thought himself in all open questions at liberty to adopt those, which seemed the most useful for his immediate purpose; without wishing thereby to imply that he himself might, in every single case, adopt them upon further consideration: in all defined questions, it is needless to say that he has but one course, and is glad to have but one, left open to him. In the application of any principles, mortals, and especially sinners, may be mistaken: but if it is any satisfaction to the reader to know it, the application of the principles (not to speak of the principles themselves) is of no new date in the author's mind. In the main, that application occurred to him in the year 1845, when he was driven, in making notes to St. Ephrem, to study the doctrine of the Trinity and the Incarnation as stated by the great Petavius<sup>a</sup>.

The mine, therefore, from which the principles here used have been chiefly drawn, is the Fathers. There is yet sufficient reverence for antiquity, to induce one to hope that their statements will carry some weight with them. In quoting the Scriptures, the Anglican version

<sup>a</sup> It may be worth observing, that Bull earned himself a reputation by finding fault with a *single* chapter in the huge work of this great man. Every one has a right to his opinion: but my own impression is, that he found fault without sufficient reason.

has been sometimes used, where it seemed more likely to tell, and not to be against the Vulgate. Here and there a reference has been given to works in the library of the beloved Society of which the author was once a member, but to which he has not now access.

There are many whose kindness in assisting him to carry out this work, it would be more pleasant for himself to specify, than (he has presumed) it would be to themselves not to pass unnoticed : he therefore contents himself with a general acknowledgment to these. But the kindness of his friend, the Rev. WILLIAM WATERWORTH of Hereford, in reviewing the sheets as they passed through the press, he will, it is hoped, forgive him for thus publicly mentioning.

*Prior Park,  
Rosary Sunday.*





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7. Saw and knew the Father;

8. And as revealing him, according to St. Anselm, to the Holy Spirit, in his own right filled his soul with wisdom.

9. Particular instances, in which Christ displays the fulness of his wisdom.

10. The authoritative manner, and frequency of these instances, gives them their cogency.

11. Faith, memory, and reasoning, never ascribed to Christ in Scripture.

- 12, 13. Imaginary illustrations of the foregoing doctrine.
- 14. Of the nature of the objections to the same.

## CHAP. XIII.

## UPON THE HERESY OF THE AGNOETÆ OR IGNORANTISTS.

- 1. This heresy opposed by Saints Gregory and Eulogius.
- 2. Of the Arian phase of this heresy.
- 3. Of a tenet of Origen's like it, and its relation to Pelagianism.
- 4. The tendency of the Nestorian theory to Manicheism, helps to explain why the Agnoetæ are referred to opposite heresies.
- 5. Theodore's ascription of imperfection to the intellect *and* the will of Christ helps also to this end.
- 6. Testimonies to shew, that though the founder of the heresy belonged to a Eutychian, the heresy itself belonged to a Nestorian, school.
- 7. The heresy mainly rests upon a text of St. Mark xiii.
- 8. Difficulty of this text from the exposition of some Fathers.
- 9. Things denied of the Son, because not possessed by him unoriginately.
- 10. The rule adopted for difficulties does not make plain things uncertain.
- 11. Evasions of difficulties sometimes allowable, when the questioner's welfare is at stake.
- 12. Passage from St. Ambrose in illustration: the soul of Christ wise, as the flesh is adorable, through the union.
- 13. Passages from Gelasius, Cyzicenus, and Augustine, shewing the position Christ's soul holds in the universe.
- 14. St. Eulogius's reply to difficulties raised from Mark xiii, and his principles for solving them.
- 15. A similar text to those he uses noticed.
- 16. Eulogius's principles of economy, reference, and speculative distinction,
- 17. Illustrated and explained.
- 18. St. Gregory the Great's approval of them.
- 19. What has been said should at least lead men to reflect how *much* knowledge *must* be ascribed to Christ.



## CHAP. XIV.

## FURTHER REFLECTIONS ON THE HERESY OF THE AGNOETÆ.

1. Ancient distinction of theology from economy, and use of that distinction here.
2. The effects of the Incarnation dependent on God's will, and to be learnt by induction from texts, &c.
3. A speculative difficulty, which sets aside such induction, raised by the deacon Anatolius.
4. Anatolius's objection, that Christ may have taken ignorance as well as other things unlikely to save us, stated more fully.
5. May be answered from the mutability of the body's substance, and the immutability of the soul's.
6. May be further answered from the different states possible for the assumed nature: ignorance not in Adam.
7. Christ's ignorance, if any, not human, and so of no use to save us.
8. His office, as authoritative Legislator and Judge, preclude ignorance.
9. The foregoing considerations entitle us to dismiss Anatolius's difficulty.
10. The forsaking on the Cross does not imply ignorance in Christ's soul.
11. The conduct of priests and teaching of doctors explains the conduct of our great High Priest.
- 12, 13. Passages from St. Cyril against ascribing ignorance to Christ;
14. Which exemplify Eulogius's principles.

## CHAP. XV.

## UPON THE EXPERIMENTAL KNOWLEDGE IN CHRIST'S SOUL.

1. The sleep and apparent unconsciousness of Christ should be reconciled with the foregoing statements.
2. Use of the senses implies a knowledge *from* Christ's human nature: subjects of this chapter.
3. The Fathers ordinarily attribute to Christ no *advance* save in the display of his knowledge.

4. Texts of Hebrews implying *habits* in Christ, and thereby implying experimental knowledge.

5. Butler's doctrine that habits are formed by use and exercise, shewn by these texts to be applicable to the sacred Humanity itself.

6. Experimental and infused knowledge illustrated from experimental and mathematical conviction.

7. From pain remembered or imagined, and pain felt.

8. From a heathen theory of natural and acquired virtue.

9. From the present state of Saints in heaven, and that they will have when their bodies are restored.

10. The suspension of the operation of acquiring experimental knowledge explains Christ's seeming unconsciousness in sleep.

11. Of the art of carpentry, considered as a habit in our Saviour's soul, gained through the senses.

12. Of his habit of compassion gained less by the senses than the mind. Passage from Cyril.

13. If the habit of compassion to us be retained, then other habits are also.

14. Some habits seem incapable of being retained hereafter, because new circumstances make the same habits look not the same.

15. Or the moral intention of the Agent may make an intellectual habit moral.

16. Absurdity of supposing the moral habit of obedience to Mary for thirty years, has vanished from Christ's soul.

17. Illustration from Christ's scars; passage from Lugo.

18. Habits, supposed to continue in the Saints, illustrate their continuance in the Saint of saints.

## CHAP. XVI.

### THE PATRISTIC DENIAL NOT OPPOSED TO SCHOLASTIC ASSERTION OF GROWTH IN GRACE AND WISDOM IN CHRIST.

1. Nestorians use the same texts to disprove infused, as Schoolmen use to prove experimental knowledge.

2. Cyril's tenth Anathema.

3. Theodoret's answer to it, in which the pronouns used shew that he held there were two persons in Christ.

4. He represents the human person as *obliged* to suffer.

5. Cyril in reply shews that Christ could not have *become* poor, or be a priest for us, if two persons.
6. The Nestorian denial of infused knowledge abominated by Cyril as establishing human merit.
7. The theory of experimental knowledge implied in Cyril's teaching.
8. Advantages of the theory.
9. Summary of what has been attempted in this Part.

## PART II.

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### CHAP. I.

ON THE ANNUNCIATION AND MIRACULOUS CONCEPTION OF OUR LORD.

1. The Rosary, a mode of contemplating with Mary's eyes the chief events of our Lord's life.

2. Apology for treating our Lady as a good woman, in the protestant sense of it.

3. Neither protestant nor Catholic version of the Angel's words borne out by the Greek words alone.

4. The vow of virginity implied in Mary's reply, why not seen by protestants.

5. Christ, as soon as conceived, rational, and bound to obey Mary.

6. To object that he had his Father's will to fulfil, is to argue from what *might* interfere with obeying his Mother, as if it certainly *did* interfere.

7. Illustration from the Sacrament of Orders. God could not wish to undo what he had done, in becoming subject to Mary.

8. The power of Mary as Mistress and Servant of the Creator, her Son.

9. The ascription of this power follows from an honest belief, that she is Mother of God.

10. Reasons why Mary with this power, yet allowed St. Joseph to be in perplexity.

11. Remarks on the sending of the Angel to St. Joseph, and his not knowing Mary *until* she had her Son.

12. Why Jesus is called Mary's Firstborn.

13. Mary attracted the notice of Angels.
14. Allegory of the burning bush. Uncertain evidence, such as allegory, a touchstone of earnestness.

## CHAP. II.

### UPON THE VISITATION OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN TO ST. ELIZABETH.

1. The state of our Saviour's body in the womb, if uncertain, would not prevent his soul doing rational acts.
2. In such cases the common course of nature is no guide to this course miraculously interfered with.
3. Jeremias though sanctified in the womb had original sin.
4. Reasons for limiting the sense of Sanctification as applied to Jeremias, and extending it as applied to the Baptist.
5. The rational joy of John a voucher for the rational obedience of Christ in the womb.
6. Expansion of the sacred narrative of the Visitation.
7. Reflections on the same.
8. The Baptist, the immediate source of his Mother's inspiration.
9. Passages from St. Bede and St. Sophronius on St. John's illumination in the womb.
10. And from other earlier writers.
11. If John was thus rational in the womb, much more was Jesus.
12. St. Austin's deviation from earlier writers excused.
13. Mary the cause of John's illumination continued, with Elizabeth, and the effect, in St. John. Reasons for the visit.
14. Lessons afforded by the blindness allowed in St. Joseph.
- 15 to end. Commentary on the Magnificat.

## CHAP. III.

### ON THE NATIVITY OF OUR BLESSED SAVIOUR.

1. The abuse of meditation on this mystery, no argument against the use of it.
- 2, 3. The pains of childbirth removed where conception by sin is not.
4. Mary's Immunity from these universally believed in the Church.

5. The miraculousness of our Lord's Nativity.
6. Our Lord's argument with the Sadducees a reason for thinking the Scripture proof of this will be slender to those who reject tradition.
7. The passage of Ezekiel on the Closed Gate explained of the Nativity.
- 8—11. Passages from Fathers upon this passage.
12. Possibility of Christ appearing in glory to Mary then.
13. Use of imagining such possible events.
14. Mary's willingness to part with Jesus from her Womb.
15. The inconsistency of disbelieving her power and believing her Maternity.
- 17, 18. Mary's manifold opportunities of gaining grace from her Son.
19. Abuse of the imagination prevented by contemplating them.



# INTRODUCTION AND FIRST PART.

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ON THE  
FULNESS OF WISDOM AND GRACE  
POSSESSED BY  
OUR BLESSED SAVIOUR  
FROM THE FIRST INSTANT OF HIS CONCEPTION.

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Verbum caro factum, . . . est plenum gratiæ et veritatis.

*St. John i. 14.*





## INTRODUCTION.

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1. IF it be a part of charity to think no evil, a truly charitable person will wish to have this, as well as the other parts of charity. As it is thinking evil of a person, to imagine that he wishes to think evil of others; it must be thinking good of him, to imagine that he wishes to be relieved of all supposed obligation or real temptation to think evil of others. If a man knows that his neighbour thinks ill of a third person, it is charitable to try to remove his prejudices: it is uncharitable in his neighbour to be suspicious of his intentions, and unwilling to hear what he has to say. He plainly would in such a case be at once most able and most bound to remove such feelings of dislike and suspicion, who himself had known and could participate in the feelings of both parties.

2. Protestants must own, that in this country Catholics are their neighbours; that they think evil of Catholics, so far as they uphold certain tenets supposed to be destructive of vital Christianity; that they are bound, in charity at least, to wish to think no evil of them; that they cannot expect to do so by merely wishing, while they neglect to see what may be said in their defence; that they ought not to be suspicious of I know not what design upon them-

selves, when a person speaks in defence of these tenets; that moreover a person formerly one of themselves has a chance of seeing, whence it is that their prejudices arise,—prejudices, be it observed, which, if unfounded, interfere unnecessarily with the fulness and extent of their love towards the immense majority of those who revere and adore the merciful Saviour of mankind.

3. Now that sort of worship, paid by Catholics to the Mother of God, constitutes one of the chief obstacles which prevent a serious and zealous Protestant from enjoying conscientiously and fully that love he must wish to have to all that own the name of Christ: by some sad fatality, as it were, she whom Jesus loved most of all, has become one of the greatest barriers to the existence of a loving intercourse between thousands who wish to be his disciples: she whom he bequeathed to his beloved John upon the Cross, so far from seeming to be to us all the Mother of the Evangelist of love, has become the Mother of division and alienations to us. This assuredly cannot be a subject of rejoicing, but of deep sorrow, to any serious Protestant. For who can feel pleasure at thinking the immense majority of Christians are in error, without he first strip himself of the clothing of charity? Who can deny that it would be a bright and joyful discovery for charity to find out, that after all Christ really had secured the majority from error, unless he perhaps had cast off that charity which seeketh not her own?

4. The author of these pages has resolved to do what he can towards removing the groundless prejudices which thus keep Christians apart: he has desired every where to speak with the utmost charity, and with every consideration for those exceeding

difficulties created by early education, of which old Catholics can have no experimental knowledge. This he hopes will be met with a charitable desire to make allowances for infirmities of human nature upon his own part, if any where a seemingly reckless expression, or harsh way of putting things, has escaped him. Surely he may say with the prince of converts, St. Augustine: "All those figments which hold you down with the meshes and chains of long habituation, I too once sought out with care, and attentively listened to, and inconsiderately believed, and eagerly persuaded such as I could of, and defended against others with obstinacy and animosity. I am utterly without power to be fierce against you, whom I am bound to bear with now, as my friends did with me at that time, and to deal with you with all that patience wherewith they dealt with me, when in my madness and blindness I held to your erroneous doctrine\*."

5. What was St. Augustine's case, is the case of numbers at this day; they have come out of an error, which when in it they thought was light, and defended vigorously. As he employed his talents and past opportunities of study to win others; so in their degree should each convert employ his own for the same end. If they are aware, that those who once treated them with every possible consideration for infirmities of body or temper, now ascribe the step they took to morbid feeling, disappointment, isolation, excitement, fancifulness, or tendency to madness, let them patiently consider whether the doctor of grace might not have had the same said of himself. Grace assuredly will account for any change of sentiments and feelings;

\* Cont. Epist. Fundam. §. 3.

but when rescued from all sorts of fierce and strange temptations by the change, we ought not to forget our past blindness. Yet certainly some converts find a temptation after the change to condemn others, who do not at once follow themselves, of dishonesty. This temptation, if yielded to in the case of persons with whose previous state we are not fully acquainted, may easily amount to a rash judgment. But this temptation is only mentioned here to shew, that there is need of much consideration for individuals, when we are reasoning about the worship or reverence we pay to the blessed Virgin.

6. Leaving it then to the Father of lights to judge who is blameably and who unblameably in ignorance upon this subject, let us endeavour to put before those capable of taking a plain and honest view of the matter, how their case stands. Protestants are perfectly aware of what in itself is an alarming fact, that they are living in utter neglect of what by far the largest body of Christians hold to be of immense assistance towards securing their eternal salvation. The affair of each man's salvation is an affair of uncertainty. We know from St. Peter, that the just shall hardly be saved: so boundless are our passions, so subtle our self-deceits, so headstrong are our prejudices, so desperately wicked our hearts, that we cannot afford to fling away untried any thing which may be of use. There is a chance, say only a chance, that when the wide sea of eternity opens upon us, we shall find that the huge majority of Christian souls departed were in the right, when they revered and invoked the Mother of the inexorably just Judge. What the amount of that chance is, that we cannot tell now, without examining into it; but then, we shall blaspheme God and curse

ourselves if we are lost for want of virtues which her prayers would have obtained for us, if we had asked for them. The least chance that Catholics may be right, ought to make men alive to this consideration. Ignorance will not excuse those, who having time and faculties for considering the question, yet thrust indolently aside from them the trouble of study, and (be it most seriously added) the earnest meditation often requisite to come to a right conclusion. I do not say definitely, 'your soul is at stake,' but—'it may be at stake.' Take care lest the heathen poet rise in judgment against you and condemn you<sup>b</sup>.

That which the voice of fame spreads far and wide  
 'Mid many nations, certes shall never waste  
 To utter nothingness, but is the voice of God.

7. Wherever there is reason to hope that ignorance upon this subject is in any way excusable, there must there also be reason to hope that it is not invincible. A heathen might wish to know the truth, but lack the means of knowing it. In such a state of mind, that statement of the truth which, from principles already understood, led him on to a fuller knowledge, would be most likely to win him. If there were no statement of the truth of this nature accessible to him, this alone might constitute a sort of excuse for his ignorance. In the same way, although in vastly different circumstances, a Protestant may wish most sincerely to know that truth, of which as yet he has never found such a statement, as should deduce from principles which he actually acknowledges, those conclusions which we wish him to believe. God can give him the wish to know the truth; man, by God's grace, can pray that he may

<sup>b</sup> Hesiod, Op. 761, quoted by Aristotle, E. N. vii. 14.

have this wish ; but the employment of these supernatural means does not, of course, excuse any one for neglecting to furnish or to use natural resources. By natural means the truth can be put before the mind : even our Saviour's preaching might be called a natural means of bringing his doctrine before the Jews : but they both saw and hated the Father and the Son, in spite of his preaching and his miracles, until he sent the Paraclete to bear witness of him, not by outward appeals to the senses, but by inward touching of the heart. Yet no one in his senses would deny that the Jews were to blame for not being moved by his preaching, and ought to have prayed for light before they condemned so hastily. Still, so great was God's mercy, that some even of those who so hated the Son, were afterwards converted by his grace : which should encourage us not only to pray for those who have no zeal for him, but to believe that the feebler arm of reasoning will not be without its use to such as profess that zeal.

8. Reasoning cannot be carried on without terms which are more or less technical : and the technicalities (if they deserve the name) of the Catholic party are liable to offend Protestants. Nevertheless, as they express often in a word what otherwise would require a circumlocution, an apology for using some words, that may seem to be of this nature, shall be here made once for all. E. g. the term Protestant itself in the mouth of a Catholic priest ordinarily means not a Dissenter or Lutheran, but a member of the Established Church. This may seem somewhat a harsh word to use in a treatise intended to conciliate : if so, the writer must beg to be excused, on the ground, that distinctive circumlocutions could not always be used without cumbering the sentence.

Anglicans are generally aware that we include them under the term of Protestants, and it is hoped will not dispute about a word which is not intended to be grating to their feelings as it was once to my own, but merely as a concise mode of designating them in common with others, to whom I wish, if God will, to be of service. The expression, 'the worship of Mary,' is another example of a phrase at which some may take offence. The fact is, that it is no use objecting to a way of speaking, which you cannot force the rest of the world to object to. Italian and Latin authors will talk of 'adoring' Mary, and so we may as well speak of worshipping her. It is not true that the word 'worshipping' in English is never used of creatures; and it is the part of an eminently uncatholic tone of mind to be touchy about words, where the meaning is orthodox and the Church does not enforce any particular expression. These may serve as instances to shew, that the author has fearlessly used expressions which appeared to him natural and the best, not from any forgetfulness, that it was possible for some people to amuse themselves with ingeniously arraigning them.

9. Reasoning also requires the admission of certain common principles; and from such principles it is proposed here to argue. Now all Protestants allow 'that the Word was made flesh,' and, 'that our blessed Lady was a good woman.' It is proposed then in the two first sections of this work to shew what these two principles, if carried out, will lead to. It is not much to assume, that if people are in earnest, they are not afraid of looking at what they hold, and acting upon it where it leads to action. The third section of the work will shew, how some of the higher



attributes, ascribed by the Church to our blessed Lady, harmonize with the principles stated in the two former sections, and are in themselves credible. It may not be out of place to add, that the two former sections may be said to be little more than an expansion of meditations, which mainly contributed to the author's own conversion: the latter consists of things which, for the most part, have been brought before his mind since he was a Catholic.

10. It is possible that some Catholics may consider a work of this nature to be not altogether desirable: it may be argued with much apparent reason, when Protestants affect to think the kind of worship we pay to Mary derogates from the supreme honour due to the Holy Trinity, tends to idolatry and superstition, or makes us look on Christ as an avenging Judge only, while we make his Mother the sole dispensatrix of mercy, that they are wholly and entirely without fair excuse for so thinking. No fair-minded person, it may be said, would pretend to judge without hearing; that too often Protestants never look into Catholic books, or they could not fail to see in the Litany of Loretto, for instance, a marked distinction between our way of addressing the Trinity and that of addressing the Virgin Mary; that they must know that the sacrifice of the Mass is never offered to Mary, as it always is to God; that our children are never christened 'Jesus,' or 'Christ,' but very often indeed, 'Mary;' that we never ask the blessed Virgin to forgive us our trespasses as we do God daily: that we regard her as a creature, wholly unable to create, but her Son as the Creator who made her: and other things which may have been said or be suggested.

11. Now it shall not be denied, that in some

cases this way of objecting to the whole plan of this work is of weight. Learned people in particular know perfectly well, that idolatry consists in offering sacrifice and supreme worship to idols, as the conduct of heathen persecutors, when they wished to pervert Christians, amply attests. They also know, that the incautious or unsuspecting statements of partially informed Catholics do not prove them to be wrong at bottom, much less the Church. Still, I think, these and similar things are, generally speaking, not of the weight which those who never have been else than Catholics suppose them to be. It is a very different thing, for instance, to have a theory of sacrifice out of the book of Daniel, the Epistle to the Corinthians, or the early fathers, and to have the thing itself daily before one's eyes, and touching one's heart. The notion of sacrifice as an essential of religious worship, is one which was practically absent altogether from our minds as Protestants: we might crave, but we had not. Hence the attempt to force the Protestant to feel and think as if he had an adorable sacrifice, would be to make him strain himself into a hopelessly unreal mood of mind. Yet the presence of such a sacrifice undoubtedly would be a great check upon the tendency (if it existed) to pay undue honour to our Lady, as will appear more fully in the sequel. The Catholic who has not had faith given him piecemeal, but at once, has always had the idea of sacrifice in his mind, and so is apt to suppose a Protestant can appreciate its value, as a check upon those tendencies to confuse the worship due to Mary with that due to God, which are but the creations of his own imagination. In a similar way it may be observed, that the danger of idolatry which a Protestant sees in the worship of

sacred images, is possibly a real danger to him, though none at all to the Catholic. Take away the grace of the true Sacraments, and who can say that the tendency of human nature to abuse what is good, might not lead one wholly without them to real idolatry<sup>c</sup>? And in the other cases mentioned, arguments obviously felt by those in a system, have no cogency when plied against persons out of it. The thing then seems to be, to induce men if possible to look at premisses which they really hold, and to consider whether things which, without being in a system, they can ponder in their own closet, do not lead to a certain practical conclusion.

12. Neither can it be objected further, that if men can hold a truth speculatively for years, without acting upon it, a book which removes any number of speculative difficulties will not do much good. For, in the first place, all that men do hold in this case are remote premisses: they have never been led to see what conclusion would follow from them. "All things, pretty well," says Aristotle, "have been found out; but some of them have never been drawn together, and some, though men know, they do not use<sup>d</sup>." But those speculative truths which they do hold, when unfolded or amended, may become more attractive, and take a firmer grasp upon the intellect. It is something to get the intellect to energize at all upon such matters, especially as our Lord is not content that we should worship him with the whole soul and the whole heart, but, as *suprême* Lawgiver, added what is not in the

<sup>c</sup> On the fascinating effect of idolatry, see St. Austin, Epist. cii. 18. and in Psalm xcvi. 11, &c.

<sup>d</sup> Ar. Polit. ii. 5.: he says this of forms of government; but it admits a larger application.

Old Testament, with the whole mind or intellect\*. Indeed it was but to be expected, that he who had revealed the Trinity, and so much else, to put the intellect into a state of probation, should claim the entire homage of that haughty faculty also. If then people can be brought to attend to this, by a work like the present, and to exercise that faculty on the things it treats of in a humble spirit, it does not follow that they will simply absorb a number of truths which will be of no use to them, and will be there without leading to action. To contemplate such truths at all, is to keep the mind active in a right direction: and as they require a good deal of attention to master, to contemplate them seriously as responsible beings also fixes the mind upon them more or less to the exclusion of less worthy objects.

13. It is often said indeed, that Protestants do not realize the doctrine of the Incarnation, or, in other words, that the proposition, 'the Word was made flesh,' is one of those truths which to them are almost barren speculations. That an author who professes to draw conclusions from this truth, should agree in the main with this assertion, will readily be anticipated. Still as it would be unjust in Protestants to accuse the Catholic Church of reverencing Mary in a way inconsistent with the doctrine of the Incarnation, until they know what the Catholic doctrine of the Incarnation is; so it might be unjust in us, to accuse Protestants of not realizing that doctrine, merely because they do not follow it out to all its consequences. There can scarcely be a doubt, that Angels see many consequences from doctrines which we hold, which we neither see, nor perhaps should

\* Matt. xxii. 37. cf. Nyssen. i. p. 60. D.

be loyalhearted enough to act upon, if we did see. Their patience, therefore, with us, is an invisible example to us to be patient with others, and to use as best we may what they actually believe, as a stepping-stone, and as something more. There are Chinese, Indian, Egyptian, Persian, Grecian, or American notions of an Incarnation, some of them more and some less like the truth: no Christian, who tried to convert one of these heathens, would wish to do else than make a patient use of these notions. But any Christian would think a heathen unreasonable who condemned the Christian doctrine of an Incarnation of inconsistency, before he knew what it is. Let Protestants then only deal by us as they would be done by, and at least know somewhat about our doctrines, before they decide that they are inconsistent, or that this or that part of them is inconsistent with another part, of which they are ignorant.

14. Neither let it be said, that to speak so is to deny the existence of those common principles, upon which all reasoning between two opposite parties must proceed. For it has been said before, the axiom, 'the Word was made flesh,' is held by both parties. Deductions from that axiom must be considered first, and so much of the science which flows from it apprehended as is necessary, before the Protestant can expect to determine, whether another and derivative science (so to call it) is or is not consistent with the former. In making such deductions, mathematical certainty must not be expected: the certainty which a Catholic has upon such matters, depends so much upon the light of faith, that those who have never been without that light, can hardly estimate the degree of certainty it

adds. For the gift of faith has relation not only to infallible decrees of the Church, but also to the opinions she commonly receives—has this relation, perhaps not only because it gives the mind absolutely certain premisses, which else it would not have, to deduce received opinions from, but also in some farther and supernatural manner. But things of which we obtain, as Catholics, different degrees of certainty, either directly or indirectly, through the light of faith, are capable of receiving a certain amount of proof from the light of reason. If this were not so, there could be no proof of the existence of a Church, and none consequently of the existence of a revelation for which she is the voucher, and from which it would be only arguing in a circle to prove her existence\*. Consequently, we are bound to attend to probable proofs about revealed matters, till we have found out a teacher sent from God, a pillar and ground of the truth. Those therefore who culpably or inculpably reject this teacher, are bound to attend to probable or moral proofs, and may be lost eternally for neglecting to do so. Weaker evidence is not no evidence. And the evidence offered by the internal consistency of the Church's doctrine, is some sort of evidence, though very far

\* St. Austin, Epist. 120. §. 3. Si rationabile est ut ad magna quædam, quæ capi nondum possunt, fides præcedat rationem, proculdubio quantulacunque ratio, quæ hoc persuadet etiam ipsa antecedit fidem. Cf. de Præd. S. §. 5. Milner, in his admirable End of Controversy, Lett. xi. §. 4. tries to shew, that the process here alluded to is not arguing

in a circle. See however de Lugo de Fide Disp. 1. sect. xii. §. 251. where the well-known saying of Augustine, 'Non crederem Evangelio, nisi me auctoritas Ecclesiæ commoveret,' is discussed. Viva, Quæstio Prod. §. xiv. "Sufficit moralis certitudo de signis credibilitatis ut teneamur, de fide credere mysteria revelata."

from demonstrative. The internal consistency of a part of her doctrine is what this book will endeavour to put before the reader.

15. There may be some other advantages to be derived from this work, a few of which may be briefly suggested for the advantage of those not Catholics. Now the number of works in existence about a subject is an evidence of the interest which is felt in it. The incidental references therefore to Catholic books bearing upon the Incarnation will be a proof of the pains the Church has taken to master the doctrine in all its bearings: they will shew undeniably that it cannot be from want of reflection on the Incarnation that the Church, learned and unlearned alike, pays such reverence to Mary as she does pay to her. If the Angels<sup>f</sup> desire to look into these things, the Church cannot be wrong in aiming at ascertaining and fixing certain points about Christ; not wrong even in the eyes of those who look at her as going to the task with mere human means of learning, memory, and acuteness. To meditate we must have certain points fixed: others will be elicited as we meditate; these will for a time appear to clash with points already settled; and we shall be driven back to those looked upon by the Church as authorities, to reconcile and explain such apparent discrepancies: hence we shall come to a deeper knowledge of the subject. Such a work as this then, however clumsy an effort it may be, necessarily leads the thoughtful to a fuller understanding of the matter it treats of. Again, as the greatest part of our knowledge comes from contrast and comparison, this work, as it brings before us the two highest created natures, the human nature of Jesus,

<sup>f</sup> 1 Pet. i. 12.

and his Mother, gives us something to help us to understand the Creator. Imperfect as our ideas of God are at the best, they would be still less perfect, if God had not revealed to us the existence of Archangels and Angels. From an Angel we lift our minds to an Archangel, and from an Archangel to something else to fill the vast interval between the Creator and the creature. The soul of Christ, and that soul which from all eternity he destined to exercise maternal authority over himself, help us to fill up this vast interval, and so to form a more exalted idea of the Creator of them. Again, the doctrine of the Incarnation is a great help towards understanding that of the adorable Eucharistic sacrifice, that permanent safeguard against supposed tendencies to extravagant devotion to our Lady. That very devotion to the blessed Sacrament, idly supposed by ultra-protestants to be idolatrous, is the great safeguard against idolatry to Mary. For the idea, that sacrifice is a part of worship, belongs to natural religion; and this Christ did not come to destroy, but to clear of errors. By representing then the very highest of creatures, Mary, as incapable of having sacrifice offered to her, we make the clearest possible distinction between the Creator and a creature. By representing a created nature, (which we do not use to call a creature, lest we should seem to make it a separate subsistency,) as the sacrifice offered to the eternal Trinity, and that created nature in perfect union with the divine nature, we as it were point out that no honour is too high for God, and that no creature, however high, would serve as a worthy sacrifice to him.

16. This will be thought perhaps more than enough to have said by way of introduction. The



author does not hope or expect, that the objects he has pointed out will be secured by a mere cursory perusal of a book, treating of subjects necessarily difficult to those not habituated to them; on the contrary, he is perfectly aware, that even if there were no defects of style and manner of stating things, still there is a certain amount of difficulty which clings to the subject itself. To this must be added, that to many the consequences of being convinced are or appear terrific. Still, before we have faith, God has given us reason to guide us, and we are not to allow a brute passion like fear to bear down that reason. That it may do so even in common cases is plain: but much more is it likely to bear down the voice of reason, when wielded with inconceivable subtlety and cunning by the enemy of the soul. Yet the guidance of reason, even if disencumbered of every species of fear, is not enough to lead us into the regions of faith. Those who would know that country, must pray as well as reason. An opportunity will occur by and by for shewing, that to believe in Mary's privileges is not of ourselves: it is the gift of God, and therefore may be prayed for: at all events, it is right to pray to God to know how much he would or would not have her honoured. To refuse to do this, is either to begin by proudly assuming that you are right and the majority of Catholics wrong, or else to suppose that God will guide you into error, and give you a scorpion when you ask for fish. It would be wiser not only to pray earnestly for light, but in extreme distrust of the deceitfulness of your own heart to pray for this very gift, the gift of praying earnestly.

17. When then arguments here used fail to con-

vince you, do not immediately conclude that the author is at fault, or the system at fault, or the Church at fault. It is, as St. John points out, an Unction from the Holy One which teaches us all things<sup>g</sup>: that you must pray for, and not suppose that without that internal light, the keenest or most penetrating arguments would convince. On this subject, "I will put a question for myself; yes, I will put one to that same Apostle; oh! may he deign to listen to a child that questions him. Yes, to St. John himself I say; Had they to whom you were speaking the Unction? You said, His Unction should teach them about all things: why then did you make such an Epistle? why instruct them? why edify them? Behold herein a great mystery, my brethren! The sound of our words strikes upon the ear; the Master is within. Think not that any one can learn any thing from man. Admonish by the murmur of our words we may; if he that teaches be not there within, vain is the murmur made by us. Do you then wish to know, brethren? Have you not all heard what we say? and yet how many will go away uninstructed? As far as I am concerned, I have spoken to all, but those to whom that Unction speaketh not within, those whom the holy Spirit teacheth not within, return untaught. What masters teach without, serves as a sort of succour and suggestive: he who teaches the hearts has his chair in heaven: wherefore also he says in the Gospel, "Call no man your master upon earth, for one is your Master, even Christ<sup>h</sup>." O may he speak to you within, when not a soul is present there! for though some one be at your side, your heart has no one in it. But, no more, let there be no one in your heart, let Christ be in your heart, let

<sup>g</sup> 1 John ii. 20.

<sup>h</sup> Matthew xxiii. 8.

his Unction be in your heart, lest it be in the desert, a heart athirst, without any fountain at hand to drink from. Ah! it is the inward Master that teaches, Christ that teaches, his inspiration that teaches. Where his inspiration and his Unction is not, idly do words beat upon you from without. Words from without, my brethren, are what the husbandman is to the tree. He works from without, plies it with water, and uses his diligence in tending it. Apply what he may from without, does he vest the nakedness of its boughs with leafy umbrage? is it he that does any thing of the kind from within? But who is it that does this? Listen to the husbandman, to the Apostle, and see what we are, and hear who is the inward Master! I have planted, Apollo watered, but God gave the increase. Therefore neither he that planted is any thing, nor he that watered, but God who gives the increase<sup>i</sup>. This then is what we say to you: Whether we plant or whether we water by what we say, we are nothing; but he who gives the increase is God, that is, his Unction which teaches you of all things<sup>k</sup>."

<sup>i</sup> 1 Cor. iii. 6.

<sup>k</sup> St. Augustine in Ep. 1 Jo. tr. iii. §. 13.

# PART THE FIRST.

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## CHAP. I.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE INCARNATION AS RELATED TO THE PREVIOUS  
AND SUBSEQUENT TEACHING OF THE CHURCH.

1. "THERE are not many," says the great doctor of the Incarnation, "to whom the mystery of Christ is easy of comprehension : for it is a very deep subject to discuss, and it is to those only who are very attentive, and know the holy Scriptures thoroughly, that it is intelligible, though with difficulty, as in an enigma or in a reflection<sup>a</sup>." There are, indeed, few subjects, which a theologian can discuss, more intricate and perplexing, or fuller of liabilities to erroneous and heretical statements. To believe with the heart, and to be ready to submit in all things to the decisions of the Church, is easy : but to make a statement of even such portions of the doctrine of the Incarnation, as are wanted for our purpose, that shall be at once substantially accurate, and also generally intelligible, this is far from being an easy task. It would not be difficult to shew reasons why this should be particularly the case with a country circumstanced as ours has long been. But it will be more to the purpose, as well as less invidious, to point out difficulties which arise, not from the circumstances of

<sup>a</sup> Cyril, Apol. vol. vii. p. 245. B.

the persons addressed, but from the nature of the subject itself; not from the general neglect of dogmatical theology, but from the intrinsic majesty of the thing to be spoken of. It is something towards understanding the subject to be previously convinced of its awfulness, and so to be upon our guard against rashly snatching up ill-considered truths, or rashly flinging out irreverent objections. Of this subject, if of any, the great bard's words are true: "Blind fear that seeing reason leads, finds safer footing than blind reason stumbling without fear."

2. Now when a circumscribed and finite nature is in such way made one with an infinite and uncircumscribed nature, that the two natures form but one subsistency, it seems, at first sight, as if contradictions repugnant to our reason could be ascribed to this one subsistency. Hence it seems, that the attempt to make any consistent statement of the attributes thereof, must entail a violation of the first principles of all reason. "It seemed inconsistent and irrational," (says St. Leo<sup>b</sup>), "to admit that a Virgin undefiled should have given birth to the Creator of all natures, in a real human substance; that the Son of God, equal to the Father, who filled all things, and held the universe together, should have allowed himself to be seized by the hands of men." "In this matter," says St. Austin<sup>c</sup>, "if we look for a reason, it will cease to be wonderful; if we demand a similar instance, it will cease to be singular. Let us grant that God can do somewhat, for us to confess we cannot understand. In things of this sort, the sole reason of what has been done, is the power of the doer." "Feeble," says, St. Cyril<sup>d</sup>, "is the entire host of examples, and

<sup>b</sup> Serm. LXX. de Passione, 19, 3.

<sup>c</sup> Epist. ad Volus. 137. §. 8.

<sup>d</sup> Dial. p. 776. B.

comes far behind the reality." The appearance, however, of contradicting reason which the Incarnation has, vanishes, if we view the matter in what is after all the only reasonable way to view it. For when we reason upon the proposition, 'the Word became flesh,' we may be said to be reasoning upon a hypothesis, for the truth of which it is not reason, but faith, which is the voucher. Once admit the hypothesis, and the deductions from it, however intricate, are not unreasonable. It is the hypothesis itself, if any thing, and not the deductions from it, which contradicts our reason. "When we set about understanding the mystery of Christ's Nativity, by which he sprang from a Virgin, far from us be driven (says St. Leo<sup>4</sup>) the darkness of earthly reasoning, and let the smoke of this world's wisdom depart from the sight of enlightened faith: it is God's authority to which we are trusting, God's teaching which we are following." God has given us our reason to go by in all ordinary cases: if he demands of us that in certain particular cases we should believe things seemingly contradictory to our reason, it is nothing absurd. For they may not be contradictory to the reason of higher orders of beings; or to reason enlightened by faith, or, if we please to put the thing in an abstract way, to reason absolutely and in itself.

3. If then "the Birth of our Lord Jesus Christ surpasses all understanding, and transcends all illustrations" from the things of sight, it must be to the things of faith to which we must look for illustrations of it. The doctrine of the Trinity serves to illustrate it, and that on the particular point of contradicting human reason. For to say, that one and the self-same substance is as entirely the substance of each Person of

<sup>4</sup> Serm. xxvii. 1.

• Leo S. xxx. 4.

the most holy Trinity, as if neither of the other Persons existed at all, and yet that this divine substance is not three substances but one substance, is to our finite minds a contradiction which we must receive in faith upon the testimony of God. The difficulty which occurs in regard to the oneness of substance in the Trinity, is paralleled often by the Fathers to the difficulty which occurs, in the Incarnation, in regard to the oneness of Person<sup>f</sup>. For to say, that a finite nature can become one with an infinite nature, and participate in its operations, seems to our minds to involve a contradiction, because we are unable with our present faculties to conceive the manner in which they are one. So again, the mystery of the Real Presence, which has been illustrated by the mystery of the Trinity, might be used to illustrate the mystery of the Incarnation. "If one nature is able," says Bellarmine<sup>g</sup>, "not to be drawn asunder from itself, though it be identified with Persons really distinct, why shall one Body be not with greater ease externally attached to places that are distinct, yet not be drawn asunder from

<sup>f</sup> See Cyril. c. Nest. p. 91. c. p. 102. b. Leont. ap. Mai. c. Nest. ii. 3. 6. init. and fin. 13. iv. 23. 24. c. N. and Eutych. init. p. 538. Canis. L. A. vol. i. ed. Basn. p. 615. 616. Fulgent. Ep. 14. §. 11. §. 23. ad Tras. Reg. iii. 8. Paulin. c. Felic. i. 13. Damasc. c. Jac. §. 81. Maxim. Conf. ii. p. 77. Jo. Maxent. B. P. vol. iv. part i. p. 460. Thomasin de Incarn. iii. 16. §. 8. and xix. 25. The following words from Vigilius Thapsensis c. Eutych. i. 10. may be quoted. Metuendum sane est, ne isti qui inanissimo metu utriusque naturæ propri-

etatem idcirco nolunt accipere ne duas videantur Christos inducere, similiter nobis et de Trinitate quæstionem aliquam moveant, ut quia sunt quædam propria Patris, quæ nec ad Filium, nec ad Spiritum Sanctum pertinent, et sunt etiam Spiritus Sancti nonnulla propria quæ nec ad Filium nec ad Patrem pertinere monstrantur, tres a se invicem separatos criminentur Catholicos colere deos, &c. &c.

<sup>g</sup> De Euch. Sacram. iii. 3. p. 269.

itself?" In like manner, "to a person who takes a right view of the matter, it will appear more wonderful for one hypostasis to be in two natures, than for one body to be in two places." This shews, that the things of faith admit of illustration from each other: indeed it may justly be said with St. Thomas<sup>b</sup>, "that the knowledge of the three Persons was in a more special manner necessary to enable us to form right ideas of that salvation of the human race, which is being brought about by the Incarnate Son and the gift of the Holy Spirit."

4. Without discussing in this place, whether it is or is not strictly correct to call such things contradictory to reason; it is obvious that people in general regard them as such. One does not make a greater demand upon their reason than the other: or if it does, it is a demand of a similar kind: so far as they thwart reason, they are intrinsically alike. Nor does any one obtain his belief in them from reason originally, but from faith: the mere knowledge of them we get from tradition, the assent to that knowledge as true by faith, which is in all cases an assent to things previously in the mind<sup>i</sup>. When we have given that assent, then we turn back, (so to say,) and reason upon them. If you do not believe, says Esaias<sup>k</sup>, you shall not understand. "The capacity for learning comes suitably enough after we have believed. For it was meet that when faith was previously rooted in the disciples, then the understanding of what they were ignorant of should be brought in, and not that investigation precede faith<sup>l</sup>." "And the truth is put into a clearer light, and more reten-

<sup>b</sup> Part i. q. 32. i. ad. 3.

<sup>k</sup> vii. ver. 9. LXX.

<sup>i</sup> See August. de Præd. Sanct.

<sup>l</sup> Cyril, in Jo. p. 360. D.

§. 5.



tively held, when to the things which faith had taught first, examination coming after has given its confirmation<sup>m</sup>." This examination adjusts one doctrine with another, one article of faith with another. However much any particular doctrine may contravene what is ordinarily and popularly meant by reason, it is certain that such doctrines do not contravene one another, but rather illustrate each other. One reason why such things appear to contradict reason is, because they are taken out of a large system, which lies without the field of those subjects on which men ordinarily exercise their reason. Hence they appear to contradict reason, i. e. reason with its present experience and information, much as many things which in our planet we assume as matter of course would appear, if presented to the inhabitants of another planet, to be unreasonable. Thus also to the Protestant it seems to contradict reason, when we assert, that St. Peter can hear prayers said to him in Rome and in London at one and the same time; but to the instructed Catholic, who knows that the Saints see God and all things in him, it does not seem irrational; i. e. it is consistent with reason informed as his is. "You ask," says Theodotus of Ancyra, in a sermon preached at the Council of Ephesus, "how it was possible for God the Word to become man: you ask after the mode of God's wondrous doings: if the incomprehensibility of the Word were a thing we could reach to, it would then cease to be a wonder, and be a thing according to nature. But if what took place be a wonder and a prodigy, leave the reason of it to the Lord that did the wonder. For I would have you know, that it did take place, and so reap by faith the advantage

<sup>m</sup> Leo, Epist. cxx. §. 1.

of what took place. But how it took place, leave it to him that did it. You believe, do you not, the physician that prescribes, and do not trouble yourself with the mode of the cure, trusting your health to his art; and no one else, that has not an art, troubles himself about the method used by the artist, but knows what has taken place, and leaves the mode of it to the art<sup>a</sup>." If this be so in human affairs, much more ought it to be so in divine. For if the parts of so vast a system as that of the Gospel is, appeared, after all the pains which reason enlightened by faith could bestow upon it, still to be inconsistent, even then such inconsistency would not be a sufficient ground for rejecting it. A system professing, as that of the Church's teaching does, to come from God, if rejected, must not be rejected for what to weak mortals appeared internal inconsistencies, but for want of sufficient external evidences.

5. But as the case at present stands, there is the greatest internal consistency in the Catholic system to the patient and close observer of it; and especially between the doctrine of the Incarnation, and the veneration we pay to the Mother of God. Now though internal consistency when bereft of external proof may be worth very little, as certain systems of philosophy<sup>o</sup> may perhaps prove: still it can scarce be made a question, that when there is some sort of external proof, the internal consistency will to the generality form an additional proof. For people would not object to a system, 'that it is inconsistent,' if they did not feel that consistency was some sort of proof. There are even persons who

<sup>a</sup> Ap. Harduin, i. p. 1657, a. §. 71—6. where this is very  
<sup>o</sup> See Lucian's *Hermotimus*, forcibly put.

discredit miracles wrought by God to prove Mary's power, merely because they think the ascription of power to her so inconsistent with Christianity, as by its inconsistency to exempt them from attending to the overwhelming evidence for such miracles. These far outnumber those who, by a kind of timid and narrow-minded fanaticism, seem to think, that reason ought not to be able to reduce to a system what faith has told it, and that it is a positive prejudice against a religion, if it is not mystified as well as mysterious. From what has been said then it appears, that it is desirable to consider a little more at length what the Catholic doctrine of the Incarnation is, in order that we may see whether the belief of Catholics about the Virgin Mary has this particular argument of consistency in its favour, consistency not with the things of sight or of reason, but with those of faith. If it appears that a correct (though partial) idea of our doctrine of the Incarnation paves the way to our doctrine and practice in regard to our Lady, then the internal connection between the two will be seen and acknowledged. What I am insisting on here is, that the former *paves the way* to the latter, to which I wish to draw particular attention, for reasons I shall now proceed to state.

6. The Catholic belief upon either point may be regarded either as a thing felt in the heart of Christians from the first, or as a thing systematically treated of by polemical divines. It is plain, that the first of these must have existed before the last. What Protestants suppose is, that if the first really existed, it must in the course of five centuries have shewn itself visibly and unmistakeably in the latter. What our divines often reply is, that so many

documents are lost, that we cannot estimate the contents of the mind of the Church, from the contents of those which remain. It might be added, that if God, who can shew the unknown future in a vision<sup>p</sup>, were in a vision to shew us the unknown past, we should find early Christians devout to Mary, as well as Christians of this day. This is what I suppose both parties to feel in the matter. Now to take away *in limine* an objection, which may be felt to taking the Catholic theory, where from defect of documents all is guess-work, let the following observations be attended to.

7. The doctrine of the Church, like its subject-matter, stands alone and without parallel in the world. Therefore all illustrations of it will necessarily be imperfect; still the following shall be hazarded. A person who is master of a language, knows what the genius of that language requires, by a perception indistinguishable from intuition. This perception he shares with others, who knew the same language hundreds of years before him. Neither they nor he could communicate it to persons external to that language. In order to do this, recourse must be had to grammar rules, and other subsequent inventions<sup>q</sup>, calculated indeed to convey some idea of that language to others, but wholly inadequate to transferring to the mind of a foreigner that delicate sense of what the genius of each language requires, which belongs to a native. Hence most people have heard narrow-minded persons extol in turns every language of Europe as the finest language in the world, according as these last happen from birth or habituation to have gained an

<sup>p</sup> See part ii. chap. 16.

Spr. p. 37.

<sup>q</sup> See Bekker. Organism der

insight into the genius of any particular language. But suppose a person to have found, that the grammarians of any nation had remodelled their statements, introduced by degrees rules entirely new, and in appearance contradictory to the positive assertions of their predecessors; suppose that these grammarians even differed materially with one another as to the right mode of stating things: and that in consequence the person spoken of should complain, that the language had entirely changed its genius since the time of the former grammarians: a native would reply to him, that the genius of the language, to his eyes, was as palpably as possible the very same it had always been: but that he, having only such a crude idea of it as grammars and dictionaries could give him, could not possibly have that delicate sense implied by speaking of 'entering into the genius of a language.' It was this, the native would say, and not those, which enabled himself to identify the genius of the language, even in the earliest authors. Nevertheless, he might frankly admit, that though its personal identity remained full and entire, the philosophical labours of the philologist had had a certain reflex action upon its entirety.

8. Apply this to the Catholic religion: if there are early traces of identity of belief, they may be invisible except to the eye of a Catholic, but perfectly clear to him. For an immense number of minute expressions, observations, and practices prove to him, that the genius of his faith is what it always was. It subsisted antecedently to the polemical and dogmatical works in which it is stated, and independently of them. Whatever influence they have exerted on it, it has been that of a favoured slave, not of a

master or equal. If you cannot find the same language about the Incarnation in the four first centuries, as was found in the four subsequent ones, so neither can you find in the three first centuries the same language about the Trinity as was issued in the fourth century. If it is absurd to assume, that, in spite of difficulties, the same doctrine was held by Gregory Nyssen about the human wisdom of our Lord, as was held by Gregory the Great, then it is absurd to assume that Clement of Alexandria had the same idea of a hypostasis in the Trinity as Basil had. A Brahmin, if he were to study Christian doctrine historically, would be nearly sure to think the Trinity, of which the name rarely occurs in early writers, a novelty of the third century; and if he argued as Protestants do, would conclude that the thing was new also. If he looked to the consistency of the thing, he might see that the doctrine of the Trinity in the fourth century paved the way to the doctrine of the Incarnation in the fifth, and this again to the veneration for Mary. If ignorant of the existence of oral tradition, he might look out for something to discriminate Christian from Pagan doctrine, and find one, which, so far as certain doctrines are concerned, will be often enforced in these volumes.

9. In Christian doctrine, there is this most remarkable and probably wholly unparalleled phenomenon. The writers of the eighteenth century hold every thing positive which was held by the writers of the sixteenth, and these again all that was held by those before them, and so on as far as any documents will carry us. One century after another deduced its own conclusions from premisses unwittingly supplied it by its predecessor. Now, supposing the Church

to have the whole sum of doctrine before her at the first, this is intelligible : supposing her not to have had it, (as Protestants assert,) then it does not appear that this coherence or consistency of doctrine could be brought about by any thing but design : such design cannot be denied without denying, in principle, final causes altogether. Either Almighty God, who knew in the fifth century what would be wanted in subsequent ones, so taught his Church the Incarnation, as to pave the way to the recognition of Mary's privileges, or the Church did it by chance. Either God is a liar, when he promises to be with his Church to the end of days; or let God be true, and men are liars when they deny this evidence of a wise designer. When the Church, in making statements about the Trinity, paved the way to her subsequent teaching about the Incarnation or Double Procession, and laid down principles admirably suited to the proof of these, she acted (we say) by a divine instinct. But when, with the same appearance of foresight, in discussing the Incarnation, Predestination, or Grace, she laid down principles admirably suited to prove the Immaculate Conception and dignity of Mary, she acted, you ought to say, by a diabolical delusion. An unprejudiced philosopher would regard the one as much as the other as an instance either of organic growth of doctrine, or gradual display of things secretly known. "The faith, says Leo, which is but one, cannot be in any thing unlike itself".

\* Leo, Epist. 29. 1. It is worth noticing for distinction's sake, that that 'mit begrifflicher Nothwendigkeit verlaufenden Entwicklungsprozess,' which Schwegler ad Arist. Met.

vol. iii. p. 27. says, is held by modern German philosophers to be the rule by which philosophical systems are developed, in no sense furnishes a parallel to the thing noticed in the text.

10. Neither is this altogether a novel view of things, as will appear from the following passage from one of Pope Gelasius's Letters, written in the fifth century\*: "Whatever our Catholic ancestors and learned bishops, in the case of every heresy that came up on each occasion, once sanctioned in a council in defence of the Catholic and Apostolic truth and communion, following the track of Scripture, and the preaching of their ancestors, that they would have ever after to continue unshaken and settled: nor did they upon one and the same subject, allow that points before fixed should on the score of any novel presumption be handled over again: most wisely *foreseeing*, that if any body and every body had leave to retrace things once soberly decreed, the Church would have no fixed constitution against any single error whatever, and every sound definition would be perpetually liable to disturbance from the recurrence of the same phrensies. For . . . . however clear the truth might be made, there is never wanting a something for mischievous falsehood to bring forward, deficient though it may be in reasons or authorities, yet through mere contentiousness refusing to give in. And this our ancestors, by *divine inspiration beholding*, necessarily took precaution, that what the synod, collected against each heresy, had promulgated in behalf of the faith, that they would not allow to be mutilated afterwards by being handled over

For, to notice one point only, a given philosophical system may be diametrically the opposite of its predecessor in several essential particulars, and yet naturally evolved by it. In the Third Part, something approxi-

mating to this will be noticed in regard to heresies. No creature can imitate this prerogative of Church teaching, for the simple reason that no creature as such foresees things to come.

\* Harduin. ii. p. 906.



again '." And what is here said of Councils, extends to particular Fathers. If Basil or Athanasius seem in places, when treating of the consubstantiality of the Son with the Father, to gainsay subsequent teaching about the wisdom of Christ's soul, still the positions they established about the consubstantiality remain fixed for ever after. Cyril, Augustine, Leo, or Maximus, take them for granted, and reason from them, when discussing the Incarnation. In the same way later writers take the principles of these last for granted, when they reason about the blessed Virgin. Heretical doctrines, on the contrary, stultify the principles of the preceding ages. Thus the doctrine of the single procession renders the formulas eliminated in controversy for expressing the doctrine of the Trinity, null and void<sup>u</sup>.

11. This kind of argument admits perhaps of being worked out at great length: but this book will exhibit it in the single instance of Mary's privileges, considered as flowing from the Incar-

<sup>u</sup> A passage to the same purport may be added here from Montagne, alias Tournely, de Gratia, p. 149. ed. Migne. Equidem fieri potest ut quæ antea non fuerint proposita ut explicite credenda, postea sic proponantur; sed Ecclesiæ firmitas et immobilitas in suis decretis non patitur ut aliquando exegerit fidem alicujus mysterii, et contra sentientes e sinu suo tanquam hæreticos expulerit, postea vero eandem fidem obliterari permittat.

<sup>v</sup> See Petav. de Trin. lib. vii. cap. 5 and 6. St. Thomas, part i. q. 34. art. 4. ad 4. shews how this would bear on *Ingenitus*, as a

distinctive title of the Father. *Remoto a Patre quod non sit genitus, cum tamen est principium generationis, sequitur consequenter, quod non sit procedens processione Spiritus Sancti, quia Spiritus Sanctus non est generationis principium sed a genito procedens.* It is therefore to no purpose that Zernicau, a learned Lutheran convert to the Russian creed, tries to prove the numberless passages of the Fathers spurious. If this were possible, still their principles would tell against that creed, even were there no plain statements which negative it.

nation. What is intended is, not to assert that the present devotion to Mary existed in the early ages; that may be so or not: but that the principles on which it is based naturally led to it, and may be assumed to have been intended by God to lead to it. If Protestants allow that it existed, we and Protestants need not be at variance: if we point to proofs of it, they will not see them with our eyes, and therefore they shall not be insisted on here. But what is insisted on is, the marvellous consistency between the principles of the Trinitarian controversialists with those of the authors of the fifth and following centuries who wrote on the Incarnation. If the former prophetically supplied the Church with what she wanted, why suppose the latter deprived of the same prophetic gift? God declares<sup>x</sup> that he will pour out doctrine, *as* prophecy, and the prophets did not know for whom or what they ministered many things. You say, the Fathers knew not Mary: we will grant it, but we insist on your explaining by any human principles, how they paved the way to our teaching upon the subject. We hold all that you can prove they held, and something involved in it, which you cannot prove that they did not hold. You have seen the oracles the Church prophetically uttered of old: why not trust her then to be from God, and believe her in other things to be intended for your guide? If natural religion<sup>y</sup> found an oracle that foretold many things truly, it would make that oracle its practical guide in all. Why then give us ground to think that Protestantism has discarded the religion of nature?

<sup>x</sup> Ecclus. xxiv. 46. 1 Pet. i. 10—12.

<sup>y</sup> Soph. Œd. Col. 1516. *πείθεις με· πολλὰ γάρ σε θεσπίζουσ' ὁρῶ  
κοῦ ψευδόφημα, ὥστε χρὴ ποιεῖν, λέγε.*

## CHAP. II.

OF THE STATE OF THAT HUMAN NATURE WHICH THE WORD BECAME :  
ITS PERFECT WISDOM.

1. It is not enough to have a vague and general notion of the Incarnation : it is necessary, says the Athanasian Creed, to believe faithfully the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ. And it hardly seems a faithful belief to believe confusedly, and not according to the best faculties we can bring to bear upon the subject. What kings and prophets desired to know, and Angels to look into, of that we also should wish to have an accurate knowledge. Let us proceed then to endeavour to gain by degrees a more exact knowledge of the doctrine of the faithful, concerning the sacred humanity of our Lord and Saviour. It has been already intimated, that many large works have been written by Catholic divines upon the subject, and therefore it must not be supposed that the few points here treated of are the whole account of the matter. It should also be added, that what few points are here treated of, are placed before the reader in that order which seems most advantageous towards the ultimate object in view, and was suggested by the author's opinion of the state of Protestant information upon the subject.

2. When St. John is giving us, in the beginning of his Gospel, that fuller account of our Lord's attributes which he was commissioned to deliver

to us, among other sacred truths he enunciates the following: "That was the true Light, which enlighteneth every man that cometh into this world." It is an attribute of that Word which was made flesh, to enlighten. This enlightening some have confined to those who have the light of grace, others have extended to those who have the light of nature. Considering we are pronounced by the Apostle St. Paul<sup>a</sup> to be unable to think any thing of ourselves as of ourselves, (an assertion which can scarcely apply to the light of grace only,) the widest acceptation of St. John's words seems the best, that, namely, which takes them to include every degree of light which we have, whether as Christians or rational beings. "The soul of a beast," says Augustine, "is incapable of perceiving wisdom: because the true Light is that which illuminates not every soul, but every *man*, that comes into this world." And elsewhere he says of the same passage: "If he illuminates every man, then he illuminates John. And to point out the divinity of Christ better by its far more preeminent distance, the Evangelist adds, 'In this world he was, and the world was made by him, and the world did not recognise him.' It was not the world made by him which did not recognise, for it has no power to do so, except the *rational* part of it; though even the visible world also was made by him; but in finding fault with the world which did not understand, he signifies the unbelieving that are in the world." "Christ is the same God always, wherever he is. For he is the Light that shineth in darkness, even though the darkness comprehend it not<sup>b</sup>." To the same effect are the words

<sup>a</sup> 2 Cor. iii. 5.

Epist. cxl. §. 8. clxxxvii. §. 7.

<sup>b</sup> In Jo. tr. xix. §. 14. In writing against Pelagians,

of St. Cyril<sup>c</sup>: "He it is, we say, who puts the light of mind into the whole of our nature, and who in every man that is called into being sows, as it were, like a seed deposited, the understanding, which befits him according to what is said of him, He was the true Light that enlightens *every* man that cometh into this world." And again, "It would not be by any excellency properly its own that man's nature is made glorious, nor even that of Angels. For besides being called into being, each thing that exists has from God its mode of being likewise, nor should we think that aught inhereth substantially in them which is not a gift coming from the Creator's bounty, and having its root in the favour of their Maker. Since then things that are created are compounded, there is not in them any light properly and singly, that is, without composition<sup>d</sup>." The truth which the text so explained will state (in case any one prefers the more limited interpretation) is however plain enough from every-day observation. For when we speak of the light of nature, we cannot mean any thing inherent in the nature or substance of man, any thing so inherent in him that it cannot be removed without destroying his manhood, but a superadded gift, a gift in addition to that of being,

who wished to confuse things by calling the gifts of nature graces, he sometimes spoke otherwise. See Pel. ap. Garnier, i. p. 301. and p. 159. Op. imp. ii. cap. 136. Serm. 75, 5. de Pec. mer. &c. i. §. 38. in which last passage he allows an interpretation exactly like St. Cyril's quoted in the text. The Greek words of St. John admit of the meaning, every man *as* he comes into this world, but the words seem to mean merely every

body that is born. Diverse passages from the Fathers on the subject will be found in Petavius de Incarn. xiii. 1. §. 4. 3. §. 4 &c.

<sup>c</sup> In Joan. p. 485, a.

<sup>d</sup> Ibid. p. 74. b. See also p. 54, a. p. 55, c. p. 58, d. p. 526, d. p. 561, e. p. 601, b. p. 753, c. Dial. p. 394, a. d. Basil. Epist. viii. 2. Aug. Op. Imp. iii. 155. &c. &c. all which passages tell more or less on the subject of the text.

and removable at God's pleasure. For an idiot, or a madman, is a human being: a nature or essence cannot be more or less that nature. One man's nature is not more or less human nature than another's; it is the properties or qualities of that nature which can be altered. Judas is as much a man as John, and Satan as much an angel as Michael. The gifts of nature or of grace which distinguish them are distinct from the gift of being, which makes them to be of a certain nature. Hence we see, that the proposition, 'The life was the light of men,' is not tautology. It implies, that he who gave them being, gives them also light. The text then before us, in this way of viewing it, would not assert that God the Son gave every man his being, (which the text just quoted does imply,) but what it would assert is, that it is he who gives every man that comes into this world any degree of light which he may possess. "The very natural light of reason itself (says St. Thomas) is a sort of participation of the divine Light\*."

3. Now it may be thought by some, that this is the place to state what is meant by nature. When grace, for instance, is spoken of as putting us into a supernatural condition, it is desirable to ascertain what a natural condition is, in order to understand what the supernatural is. If you ask, was Adam when created in a natural condition or in a supernatural, the whole quire of Catholic doctors would reply, 'not in a natural, but in a supernatural condition.' If you rejoin: is our present condition before grace a natural condition, or below what our nature requires? some divines would reply, that it is below what it requires. From this view it would follow, that

\* Part i. qu. 12. art. 11. ad 2.

we have no specimen of human nature in the mean condition, neither subnatural (if the word may be allowed) nor supernatural. But in a treatise like this, in which it is desirable to avoid discussing disputed points, it may be allowed to substitute 'natural' for 'original,' or for 'actual,' as convenience requires. Thus when St. Paul says, 'we are by nature the children of wrath,' he means, owing to the fallen *condition* of our nature, we are the children of wrath. When the Fathers say, the Word is by nature the Son of the Father, they mean, that he has, by virtue of what he is, the same Divine Substance as the Father. In this last sense we may speak of human nature; meaning that which was, and is, and ever will be, essential to man. The former sense shews, that it is possible to use nature, for nature in some particular state or condition, which we may conceive quite clearly enough for all practical purposes, without being obliged to discuss what human nature might be, when neither above nor below itself, what exact attributes of consciousness, knowledge, or power belong to this non-existing being<sup>f</sup>.

4. When Adam was created, it is plain that it was not in process of time, as was the case with us, that

<sup>f</sup> That it is not easy to decide precisely what a supernatural entity is, may be supposed from the fact, that there is a work in three volumes folio, by Ripalda, de Ente Supernaturali. But to say that God could not create man as he is, is a condemned proposition. The following errors were condemned in Baius, 55. Deus non potuisset ab initio creare hominem, qualis nunc nascitur. And 79. Falsa est doctorum sententia primum hominem

potuisse a Deo creari et institui sine justitia naturali. But the opposite of these, which is true, by some is taken in such sense as not to include concupiscence, which they maintain could not be from God. See Berti August. Syst. Vindic. Diss. ii. p. 107. cap. 1. §. 7. who quotes some divines of all schools to shew that this was not included. For its positive sense, see Cler. a Bellib. de Gratiâ, part 1. cap. 2.

he came to be wise, but “from the very first instant of his being we find him perfect in understanding, as preserving to himself yet unclouded and pure the light given to his nature by God<sup>a</sup>.” We have no such gift during the first part of our being before our birth, nor during our infancy, nor indeed in any perfect measure, until we have come to maturer years. Such a state of things as this, is regarded at present as natural, because we see it going on regularly in that course of things, which has been the rule since the fall of Adam, and which is the only course of things of which we have experience. But it does not seem certain that it is natural in itself: it is not what many should have expected of an infinitely bountiful Creator, that souls fresh from his hands should come into being in so gross a state of ignorance, as to himself their true good, and as to the end of their creation. Hence it is fair to ask with St. Augustine, “how it came about, or when or from what cause, that the soul of an infant, which yet is a man’s soul, should have been thrust into that most dense darkness of ignorance, wherein it then lies not untaught only, but unteachable? If it is natural for a man to begin in that way, and that nature be then not corrupted, why was it that Adam was not created in that plight? Why was he capable of having a command given him, and able to give names to his wife and all things living? . . . . But that infant aforesaid, not knowing where he is, or what he is, or from whom he is born, already guilty of sin, not as yet capable<sup>b</sup> of receiving a command, is wrapped closely round with so profound a darkness of ignorance, as to be incapable of being so far awaked out of this sleep, (as it were,)

<sup>a</sup> Cyril. in Joan. p. 75, b.

<sup>b</sup> Comp. De Lib. Arb. iii. 72.



as to take knowledge of so much as the state it is in, when pointed to him; but a time must be waited for, in order for him to recover himself from this I know not what kind of drunkenness, which lasts not for a single night, as happens ordinarily in any very bad case you may take, but for several months and years. And till this recovery is brought about, there are so many things, which in older people we notice, and in little ones we tolerate, that they are quite past numbering. If little ones contracted this sore evil of ignorance<sup>i</sup> and infirmity in this life after their birth, where, when, or how, through the commission of some great sin, were they involved in so great darkness?"

5. "Perhaps," he proceeds, "if this is not the unadulterated nature, but the beginning of one corrupted, inasmuch as Adam was not created such, how came Christ, who is far more excellent, and certainly was born from a Virgin, without any sin, yet to appear among us as born in this infirmity, and at this age? To this question we reply; that Adam was not created such, because he had no parent, the sin of whom preceded his birth; he was not created in a flesh of sin: we are such, because through his sin preceding, we *are* born in a flesh of sin: Christ is such, because in order that he might condemn sin from out of sin, he was born in the similitude of a flesh of sin. For we are not<sup>k</sup> at present speaking of Adam, so far as the magnitude of his body is concerned, seeing he was not a little

<sup>i</sup> It was one of the tenets of Pelagius, condemned in the synods of Diospolis and Carthage, that infants just born were in the state in which Adam was before the trans-

gression. See Garnier ad Merc. i. p. 26. p. 46. Noris. Histor. Pelag. i. 12. This will explain and give insight into what St. A. here says.

<sup>k</sup> Compare Op. Imp. iii. 198.

one when made, but with the substance of his limbs in full growth. For it might be said, that even cattle were created in this state, and yet it is not from any sin of theirs that their young are born so small. What we are to make of this, we do not at present enquire; but what we are treating of is, that sort of strength of mind and use of reason, by which Adam, being such as could be taught, was capable of having a precept given him by God, and a law of the commandment, and might have kept it, had he pleased. But now, man is born in such a state, that he is quite unable to keep it, owing to a dreadful ignorance and infirmity, not of the body, but of the mind; since we all allow, that in babes there lives a soul, not of another substance, but of the same as was in the first man, i. e. a rational soul<sup>1</sup>.

6. What St. Austin here teaches, is what he repeats again and again elsewhere, viz. that the ignorance in which man is born at present comes not from nature but from sin<sup>m</sup>. His nature or essence admits of acquirements vastly greater than those with which we see it endued, and it would actually have had them had it not been for sin. Previously to sin, Adam had much greater endowments. For even if Scripture had not told us of the marvellous wisdom of Adam, evinced in his giving names to all the creatures, we might (as St. Austin says elsewhere) “with good reason conjecture in what state

<sup>1</sup> De Pecc. Mer. et Rem. i. §. 66.

<sup>m</sup> See de Pecc. M. et Rem. i. 32; ii. 48. de Nat. et Grat. §. 3. §. 80. (ex libro de lib. arbit.) c. Jul. Pel. v. §. 18. vi. §. 1. §. 49. de Dono. P. §. 27. Op. Imp. iii. 44. 154. 160. 161. 198.

iv. 74. 114. v. 1—11. vi. 5. 9. 14. 16. 27. de Trin. xiv. 7. When St. Austin speaks here of vitia, he means not sins, but defects, for he never retracted a conviction expressed in his anti-manichean works, that what is done in ignorance is not sin.

that nature was formed in that man [Adam], who was entirely free from every defect. But who is there of so slow an understanding, as to deny that to this nature there belong understandings dull or acute, and that slowness, whether of memory or intellect, are defects of the mind<sup>a</sup>?" "For who would tolerate it, if it were said that man was made such as infants are now born? That perfection of nature then, which years did not give but the hand of God alone, could not but have some will, and that not a bad will, as otherwise it would not have been written, that God made man upright<sup>o</sup>."

7. We see then that God not only gives us that human nature which we have, but also by a distinct gift bestows upon us that light and knowledge which we have at some time of our life, or by a distinct judgment withholds them from us at other parts of our life<sup>p</sup>. The former and the latter gift may or may not be contemporaneous. The particular kind of advances which we make in knowledge are not at all a part of human nature, if by human nature we mean not the state in which man happens to be through sin, but the essence of man, without including those accidents of man which by a law of God, occasionally suspended at his will<sup>q</sup>, are, since the fall, almost invariably attached to that essence. Adam had the same nature as we have, though without the same accidents of guilt, ignorance, and mortality: yet no one will deny that Adam was capable of advance in grace, and of a more perfect union with the eternal source of all knowledge, although he began with vast advantages over us, in the way of knowledge and grace, which we have

<sup>a</sup> Op. Imp. v. init.

<sup>o</sup> Ibid. §. 61. Eccles. vii. 29.

<sup>p</sup> See Aug. Op. Imp. iv. 123.

<sup>q</sup> See part iii. cap. 2.

forfeited by the fall. "Diligently and wakefully should we consider the difference between being able not to sin, and not being able to sin; being able not to die, and not being able to die; being able not to desert our good, and not being able to desert it. For the first man was able not to sin, able not to die, able not to desert his good. Shall we say, that he who had that free will was not able to sin? or he not able to die to whom it was said, If you sin, you shall die the death? or not able to desert good, when by sinning he did desert it, and therefore died? The first freedom of the will then lay in being able not to sin, the last will be much greater, to be unable to sin; the first immortality was to be able not to die, the last will be much greater, to be unable to die: the first power perseverance had was, to be able not to desert its good; the last happiness it will have will be, to be unable to desert it<sup>r</sup>."

8. We are now in a condition to ask a question about that human nature which Christ took: Did he take our nature as it was corrupted by the fall, with all its liabilities to disease, death, ignorance, lust, and sin? or, if he took our corrupt nature, did he not by that act of taking it, remove from it not only sin, but all such consequences of sin as were of no use towards saving us? Now it does not seem worth enquiring here, in what state the human nature of Christ should be conceived to be before he took it: for we must conceive it as existing separately from his divine nature, in order to conceive it at all as a perfect human nature. But this is nothing more than a device to help our weak understandings. We must not confound the dis-

<sup>r</sup> August. de Grat. et Corr. §. 33. See below, cap. xiv. §. 5.

ruption of the two natures which takes place in our minds when we attempt to conceive them perfectly, with the actual state of those natures in Christ, as if they ever actually existed in a state of severalty. "For in the Virgin's womb," says Fulgentius, "there was but one conception of the divinity and the flesh, and one Christ the Son of God was therefore conceived in both natures, that he might commence to abolish the stain of our corrupted race from the point at which, in each of those that are born, it seemed to take its rise<sup>a</sup>." And Leo: "Our nature was not so assumed as first to be created and afterwards assumed, but so as to be created by the very act of assumption<sup>b</sup>." To this Augustine adds: "If the soul of Christ were from this [the supposed vitiated soul of Adam] by the act of taking it, he purified it<sup>c</sup>." And of Julian the Pelagian he says: "You utter a cruel blasphemy, O Julian, when you make Christ's flesh like that of other men:" "for the whole race of saints does suffer that lust which you are trying to put into the Saint of saints<sup>d</sup>." And again: "The Lord did not transfer sin into his flesh, which is as it were the poison of the serpent, but death he did transfer, that in the likeness of the flesh of sin there might be that punishment without guilt by which, in the flesh of sin, the guilt and the punishment too might be destroyed<sup>e</sup>." And St. Leo<sup>f</sup>, the dignified expounder of thoughts taken from St. Austin: "weakness and mortality which were not sin, but the

<sup>a</sup> De Inc. et G. §. 7.

<sup>b</sup> Epist. 35. §. 3.

<sup>c</sup> Epist. 164. §. 19.

<sup>d</sup> Op. Imp. iv. 60, and 54.

<sup>e</sup> De Pec. Mer. i. 60.

<sup>f</sup> Leo, (who went when young

as nuncio to St. Austin,) Serm. lxxii. cap. 2.—Pelagius the Second, Ep. 5. p. 428. Hard. vol. iii. Quis nesciat, quod in nullo sibi ejusdem Leonis et beati Augustini prædicatio contradicat?

punishment of sin, by the Redeemer of the world were taken upon him for punishment, that they might be spent for our ransom." And again: "He who was born in our flesh, in our flesh was crucified, which flesh, as there was no sin in it, could not have been mortal if it had not been of our race<sup>a</sup>." "God was born perfect in what is his own, perfect in what is ours. Now by what is ours, we mean that which the Creator made in us from the first, and which he took upon him in order to restore. For of those things which the deceiver introduced, and man when deceived admitted, in our Lord there was no vestige<sup>b</sup>." And St. Cýril<sup>c</sup>, after mentioning all that Christ suffered, says, "All this did Christ willingly endure for our sakes; but if it had been possible without suffering to carry out what he coveted to do for us, then he would have been unwilling to suffer." These passages serve to shew, that there was no need for Christ to take upon him all that our fallen nature has, but only such attributes of it as helped to save us. The Word lightens every man who comes into this world: whether with the light of reason as well as that of grace, we need not necessarily determine: but a soul in perfect union with that Word ought in either sense to have light and not darkness, wisdom and not ignorance<sup>d</sup>, unless a brute stupidity is of any use to save us. But the passages already given, though they shew that sin and lust were not in Christ's human nature, do not shew that ignorance was away from it. The following passage from the great doctor of grace will shew, how far he thought what he uniformly makes an effect of sin, could be attributed to the soul of Christ.

<sup>a</sup> Ep. 139. §. 3.

<sup>b</sup> Ep. 28. §. 3.

<sup>c</sup> In Jo. p. 331. b.

<sup>d</sup> Below, cap. xiv. §. 4.

9. "Who is there that would venture to say that our Lord Jesus Christ is a Jesus to grown up people only, and not to children also? Who came in the likeness of sin that he might make void the body of sin, in which body in its weakest state, while the childish limbs have no suitableness or aptitude to any purpose, the rational soul is weighed down by a miserable ignorance. Now I cannot suppose that this ignorance had any existence in that Infant, in whom the Word was made flesh, in order that he might dwell in us; nor should I dream of that helplessness even of the mind which we see in children, having been in Christ when a child. For owing to this, it is that when they are perturbed by irrational passions, they are restrained not by any reason, not by any authority, but by pain sometimes, or by fear of pain, so that in them you plainly see the children of that disobedience which hath its movements in the members, in repugnance to the law of the mind, and will not be quieted at reason's bidding, but is itself too often restrained by bodily pain, (as, for instance, when it is beaten,) or repressed by fear, or some other passion of the soul, but not at all at the commandment of the will. But because Christ had the likeness of the flesh of sin, he *chose* to submit to the changes of the different ages, so that that flesh seems to have been capable of arriving at death, unless he had been put to death when a youth. But that death which in the flesh of sin is rendered matter of debt to disobedience, in the likeness of that flesh of sin was taken upon him *through his voluntary obedience* \*."

\* De pecc. M. and R. ii. §. 48. whether the want of self-consciousness in infants arises from In the de Trinit. xiv. §. 7. he has some speculations as to the distraction of mind pro-

10. We see here, that St. Austin plainly repels from him the idea, that so close and immediate an effect of a will perverted by sin, as ignorance is, should have existed in the soul of Christ. For we may conceive original sin, to speak roughly, as working its way down from the will to the intellect, then as getting down from the soul to the body, and making it *necessarily* liable to disease and mortal: then as making it rebellious against the law of reason during the time it does last. St. Austin then represents Christ as not subject to this rebellion, not subject to this necessity of dying, not subject to ignorance. Now we might go farther than this, and assert, that if a soul were to be created in any eminent degree of supernatural union with God, short of that hypostatic union which existed in Christ, it would naturally, though not necessarily, follow, that all these *effects* of original sin would vanish. Even Nestorians allowed the soul of Christ to have been united from the first to the divine nature, with a more perfect union than that of any other saint<sup>f</sup>; and scarcely any one would upon reflection deny, that perfect union with the Wisdom of God would occasion an abundance of light in the soul so united, exceeding that which Adam or Eve, or any of the saints, enjoyed. But it will not satisfy a Catholic to acknowledge in Christ a union of his soul with the divine Wisdom more perfect than that of any of the saints, so long as you make this union different only in degree, and not in kind from that of the saints. Full consciousness of where it is, and capacity for

duced by the novelties around it. Mercator. i. p. 60. §. xi. has some words very like some of St. A.'s above.

<sup>f</sup> See Anath. Nestor. ap.

Assem. B. O. iv. p. 202. xi. Leont. i. Nest. iii. p. 534. Mai. C. N. vol. ix. Garn. ad Merc. ii. p. 262.



receiving and acting upon a command, might be possessed by a soul in a union with God, coming very short of that 'singularly wonderful and wonderfully singular' hypostatic union which Christ's soul enjoyed. Many attributes, not now belonging to fallen man, might be given to a soul less united to God than this; but to suppose them away from a soul which had become upon its first creation a part of the Son's Person, which did not shift and change from day to day as his body did, is to suppose something which it requires the utmost and most overwhelming authority to compel our reasons to believe. It shall be assumed then, (though it will be further proved by and by<sup>s</sup>;) that the Light which lightens every man who comes into this world, enlightened that soul which was created in union with himself, the instant it was created. The Word which was made flesh was full<sup>h</sup> from the first instant of its creation of grace and truth.

11. If it be true, that Christ's soul was created in perfect union with his divine nature, it will be true that it was from the first full not of truth only, but of grace also. Either this was so, or the union began by being imperfect, and ended in becoming perfect, and then it will be hard to find any characteristic mark for the hypostatic union, such as shall enable us creatures to distinguish between it and other unions. Other saints grow really in grace and wisdom, and that not only in the outward demonstration of them, but in the intrinsic possession of them. The more

<sup>s</sup> Cap. xi.—cap. xiv.

<sup>h</sup> In the Greek, the 'Word made flesh' is the only subject for 'full' to agree with, though some writers have supposed, that as St. John was not very particular about his grammar,

he meant it to agree with Unigeniti. But even in this way it comes to the same thing nearly, for it is a visible Unigenitus which is spoken of, as full of grace and truth.

God dwells in other saints, and sways all their thoughts, words, and actions, the more they may be said to be joined to the Lord, and to be one Spirit with him. Nay, this union is so close, that *some* even of the same words as are applied in Scripture to the Head, are applied to the members also. It says they also are gods, it calls them also temples, and by virtue of their union with the holy Spirit, ascribes to the Holy Ghost, coequal as he is with the Father, some of the imperfections of an inferior, created, and supplicatory nature in which he resides. Yet for all this, in them the sense of God's omnipresence was at first occasional, and by degrees became habitual: they were overawed by it into obedience, before they were melted by it into love: they learnt when they were conscious of it how to act, and remembered as if by rote what to do when it seemed to have gone by: they reasoned from premises recollected with an effort, before they had the knowledge of God before them by what may be called an habitual intuition. They went from light to light, from grace to grace, and from glory to glory, because they received of his fulness, before whose time there was no fulness to receive from. They were obliged to have faith and hope as well as charity, and to count themselves not to have apprehended, because they were yet travellers. "Touching that which I propounded (says the penitent Leporius) in that epistle, through my folly, though ignorantly, that which I now confess to be execrable, when I fitted on to Christ labour, devotion, merit, and faith; I judge all this to be so ill-suited to the Son of God, that when I call to mind what I said, I regard the blindness of my foolishness as supreme, and see distinctly what sound reasons some had to be wroth

against me, as if (though I never had this in my heart) I made Christ nearly like any one of the saints. . . . Yet he that stands alone, should not be reckoned amongst the rest, nor are those things which are capable of measure, to be attributed to him of whom it is said, 'God does not give his Spirit in measure.' For where there is the plenitude of the Deity, there is neither measure nor limit. By labour, devotion, faith, and merit, he knows not to earn the end of merits, who being infinite and without bounds, worketh all things authoritatively<sup>d</sup>." "Is there not also," (says St. Austin,) "besides the fact that the whole fulness of the Godhead dwelt as if in a temple in Christ's body, some other difference betwixt the Head and the excellency which each member enjoys? Assuredly there is, seeing that by the unparalleled taking of that human nature it was made one Person with the Word: for of none of the saints could it ever be said, or can it now, or will it ever be allowed to say, 'The Word was made flesh.' None of the saints by any eminence of grace whatever received the name of Only-begotten, in order that this name might be kept for him who is the Word of God<sup>e</sup>, before the

<sup>d</sup> Lep. lib. emendat. 15. ap. Garn. i. p. 225. or Hard. i. p. 1267. Leporius was a French monk, whom they had cast off as incurable, but was won back to the faith by the loving Augustine, who is thought by some to be the real author of this famous document, and most probably was so. Leporius' heresy was a kind of anticipation of that of Nestorius.

\* The words stand thus: ut quod est ipsum Dei Verbum ante sæcula hoc simul cum assumpto homine diceretur. As

none of the saints had any pre-existence, and so could not have an *assumptum hominem*, I would read, *ut hoc ipsum, quod est Dei Verbum ante sæcula simul cum assumpto homine, diceretur*, i. e. 'so as to have the self-same name, as the Word of God before the ages with his assumed human nature has.' The whole passage appears to me confused. I suspect a little further we should read, *ut alter sit Christus efficere, ut ad personam Verbi unig. pertineat?* Quo ergo

ages, even after he had taken human nature. The taking of that nature then is singular, nor can it be any way shared with any other men that are saints, how eminent soever they may be in wisdom and in sanctity. In which case there is a sufficiently perspicuous and clear proof of God's grace; for who would be sacrilegious enough to venture to assert, that any soul could by the merit of freewill bring it to pass that itself should become another Christ? To belong then to the Person of the Word only-begotten, if it were a thing given through free-will to all, and in the course of nature, how came one soul only to merit, unless it was a singular grace which was the real cause thereof, which grace to extol we do well, we do not well if we would be judges of it?"

11. Upon the whole then it will appear, that the question whether the soul of Christ was full of grace and truth or not, from the beginning, and first instant of his conception, resolves itself into the question, whether the soul of Christ was or was not hypostatically united to the Word from the first. The proof of the one will be the proof of the other. If his soul, which, unlike his body, was absolutely identical from the first, could in any real and full sense<sup>s</sup> become wiser than it was at the first, then it was capable of a fuller union with

pacto &c. One could wish Benedictine editors in an immense number of instances had acted by what Heyne says: *Spec-tare ad boni interpretis et critici officia censeo, ea loca quæ non satis assequitur non intacta relinquere aliisque fraudem facere, quasi sensus per se sit satis apertus, sed lectorem diligentius etiam de eis quam*

*de aliis monere. ad Virgil. Georg. Exc. 2.*

<sup>t</sup> Ep. ad Dard. 187. §. 40. Noris. vol. i. p. 360. See Theodorus quoted in the next chapter, of which he could hardly have known at that time.

<sup>s</sup> Of experimental knowledge in Christ, something will be said by and bye.

God than that in which it was created. And conversely, if his soul was really and intrinsically capable of advance in knowledge, then there would be two persons in Christ, a disciple and a Master, one which taught and one which learnt by degrees, came to conclusions by degrees, and drew fresh ones from these by degrees; in a word, which had his fulness of knowledge by degrees, and not intuitively and at once. This it will be seen in the sequel was urged by St. Cyril against the Nestorians, who as well as other heretics availed themselves of certain texts of Scripture, which they thought proved such advance in knowledge, and through this advance proved a duality of persons in Christ. These texts form a class of objections, which will be more conveniently discussed at a later period.

12. As it has been necessary already to contrast the union the Saints have with God, with that stupendous and unparalleled union which took place when the Word became flesh, it will be desirable to put that contrast more forcibly before the reader. This will be done most conveniently by considering the connection between Nestorianism and Pelagianism. The former heresy opposed the Church upon the subject of the hypostatic union of the two natures in Christ: the latter upon the nature of grace and original sin. This connection is not an obvious one, though one exceedingly important to prove for the purposes of this work. The three following chapters will therefore be devoted to the consideration of this connection.

## CHAP. III.

## DOCTRINAL CONNECTION BETWEEN NESTORIANISM AND PELAGIANISM.

1. IT will perhaps have already struck the reader, that of the passages which have been given, none state more forcibly the dignity of our Lord's human nature, than those which have been cited from St. Augustine, the great champion of grace and predestination. In writing about grace, he is led to make certain statements about that human nature, through which Christ has become to us wisdom, and justice, and sanctification, and redemption. Some of the statements bearing upon this nature, which he makes in treating of predestination, will be given in a future chapter. But as the doctrine of the Incarnation is one which to some English readers will seem rather a speculative curiosity, calculated to amuse subtle minds, than a practical matter, it will be important here to offer some remarks, which will tend to shew that it is of a practical nature. Now as all allow that Pelagianism is a practical error, if Nestorianism can be proved to be most intimately and radically connected with that error, then it will have been proved that Nestorianism is not a mere speculative error. It is not too much to say, that all religious minds, Heathen, Jewish, or Protestant, as well as Catholic, revolt from 'the doctrine of human merit;' all allow this to be a practical error. Plato \*

\* Plato de Rep. vi. §. 7. *ὅτι ἐὰν μή τις αὐτῇ βοήθησι θεῶν τύχη,* περ ἂν σωθῇ καὶ γένηται οἶον δεῖ and §. 12. where the true love of true philosophy is ascribed θεοῦ τινα μοῖραν αὐτὸ σῶσαι. See of true philosophy is ascribed also §. 6. where he speaks of *θείῃ ἐμπνοῇ,* and Meno. §. 41. virtue going *εἰς πάντα τὰναντία* Protag. §. 27.

thought, that nothing but a decree of God could rescue man as things are: Aristotle<sup>b</sup>, that happiness was a gift of God; the Indian<sup>c</sup> had his *prasada*, which we can most easily render by 'grace;' the Jews<sup>d</sup> believed in original sin; and learned Lutherans<sup>e</sup> have admitted, that the heathen had some notion of it. Theories of pre-existence were invented to explain man's present miseries, or of metempsychosis, to give him hopes of recovery. 'There is no need to say, that Protestants of all denominations extol grace in words, though they seem to us to mistake its nature utterly, and to assert, either through culpable ignorance or from some other bias, that Catholics maintain what is called the doctrine of human merit. Now if by human merit be meant, any thing which without grace man can do to obtain eternal glory, nothing can be more false than to speak of such doctrine as doctrine tolerated by the Church. All her prayers, public and private, her belief in the advantages of begging the Saints to help us, her belief in the Real Presence, (not to specify other things<sup>f</sup>;) attest her sense of man's

<sup>b</sup> Eth. Nic. i. 10. where he alludes to Plato; and compare what he says of *τὸ παραφρόνιστον*, ibid. cap. 13. and in Polit. vi. 4. p. 1318. b. 40. Bekk. where he observes, that the power of doing as one likes is ill-suited to keep in order the evil which is in each man.

<sup>c</sup> Windischm. Philos. im Fortgang. &c. p. 1438. p. 1790.

<sup>d</sup> Beelen Chrestom. ii. p. 23.

<sup>e</sup> Jablonski Opusc. iv. p. 483. comp. Calov. in Vet. Test. i. p. 249.

<sup>f</sup> Three Canons from the sixth Sess. of the Council of Trent shall be given here. Can. i. Si quis dixerit hominem suis operibus quæ vel per humanæ

naturæ vires, vel per legis doctrinam fiant absque divina per Jesum Christum gratiâ posse justificari coram Deo: anathema sit. Can. ii. Si quis dixerit ad hoc solum divinam gratiam per Jesum Christum dari, ut facilius homo juste vivere ac vitam æternam promereri possit, quasi per liberum arbitrium sine gratiâ utrumque, sed ægre tamen et difficulter possit: anathema sit. Can. iii. Si quis dixerit sine præveniente Spiritus Sancti inspiratione atque ejus adjutorio hominem credere sperare diligere aut pœnitere posse, sicut oportet ut ei justificationis gratia conferatur: anathema sit.

helplessness without God's aid. Those who dislike such belief, should not be so absurd as to object to the Church because she is consistent, and teaches her children that they are so weak, that they need the prayers of others whose trial is over, and even of God incarnate himself in the Sacrament, to enable them to stand. If ever any thing "did bass the trespass" of Adam and its dire consequences, it is that Church that believes, that God, with all his power, and all his love, and all his mercy, fully exempted no one child of Adam from the curse of it, save his own Mother!

2. As then it may be said, that all conspire to regard the Pelagian doctrine of human merit as odious, let us proceed to examine how Nestorianism may be shewn to be connected with it. There are three modes in which this connection may be made to appear: first, the intrinsic resemblance between the tenets of the two heresies may be pointed out: or, secondly, the affection and friendship and brotherhood which subsisted between their founders may be proved: or, thirdly, the tendencies of Nestorianizing Christians towards a way of thinking and acting, which can only be justified upon Pelagian principles, may be insisted upon. The latter two are of little weight, until the former is established: all heretics will club together against the Church, which shews we might put too much stress upon the second; while the third obviously will gain its chief weight from the fact, that the two theories are proved to be virtually identical. If these points can be made clear to the reader, it is hoped, that as he hates Pelagianism, so he will hate Nestorianism, which is nothing more or less than Pelagianism disguised.



3. FIRST. The internal connection between Pelagianism and Nestorianism may be made to appear, by shewing the intrinsic resemblance between the tenets of the two heresies. In order to make this apparent, it is proper to observe, that Pelagianism may be considered to have had two great branches, one which lay in the denial of original sin, and the other in the denial of the grace of Christ and its necessity. Celestius, a friend of the heresiarch, mainly occupied himself with the former, Pelagius with the latter<sup>a</sup>. Now though the latter branch of the heresy brings us closest to Nestorianism, it is obvious, that if man has no inherent sinfulness, he has no need of a source to supply inherent justice. If Adam transmitted no guilt except by example, then the good example of Christ was enough to overcome the bad example of Adam. An internal and deep-seated evil needs an internal and deep-seated grace to remove it. Pelagians denied the existence both of the one and the other. But with that Satanic cunning, which belongs to all heretics, they contrived to make statements<sup>b</sup> which should have as orthodox a sound as possible, but which upon close examination will be found to make the propagation both of Adam's sin and of Christ's grace consist in mere external inducements. "He will not understand," says St. Austin, "that Adam's sin was so great as to propagate a race of mortals, Christ's justice so great as to propagate a race of immortals." "If the reason why it is Christ alone in whom all are justified is, because it is not the imitation of him alone that makes us just, but a grace regenerating through the Spirit; then the reason

<sup>a</sup> Vide Garnier ad Mercatorem, i. p. 32, b. p. 34, a. p. 141, a.  
<sup>b</sup> Ibid. p. 268. §. ii.

why it is Adam alone in whom all have sinned is, not because the mere imitation of him makes men sinners, but a punishment; generating through the flesh<sup>1</sup>." In fact, the verse, 'as in Adam all die, so in Christ shall all be quickened,' contains a denial of the two branches of Pelagianism, and the latter half of it, if eliminated, will lead us to see in what Nestorianism most resembled Pelagianism. Still the whole of it comes really to the same point. For, according to Pelagianism, neither disease, nor death, nor ignorance, nor lust, nor guilt, came into our nature by the fall, but were all in it by nature, except the last, and that they denied was in it at all. Christ, therefore, when he took our nature, had lust, ignorance, disease, and death, as necessary parts of it. All men are linked to Adam by the substance out of which their flesh is formed: because they are from this self-same flesh, and have no existence, except through it and from it, they have, by a mysterious judgment, inherited that sin, which both dwelt in rebel flesh, and gave it its rebelliousness. Adam's soul and body made up one person, and the sin, which has its proper seat in the soul only, communicated its attributes to the whole person as far as was possible, and gave the parent flesh of all mankind that rebelliousness against the law of reason, owing to which man cannot 'bit his carnal motions' like those of the other members at the will of reason. To remedy the vast system of ill, the second Adam came from Heaven, took our flesh, and gifted it with a power of sanctifying what it touched, by uniting it to that divine nature, which made its finger the finger of God, and its outward mightiness. but the

<sup>1</sup> Op imp. vol. x. p. 954, a. Comp. ad Dard. Ep. 187. §. de Pec. Mer. &c. l. §. 19. 30.

feeble representative of its omnipotent and penetrating graces. Hence it had a power, sometimes from a distance, and sometimes from close at hand, of so infusing sweet and sanctifying gifts, or so overflowing with sacramental graces, as to crush the hydra-head of that work of the devil, which through the fall had place in the entire posterity of Adam. Hence there was on the one side a heart of sin, so to speak, diffusing into the finest arteries of man's race its pervading poison, and tainting interiorly the very fairest features of all human actions, and giving them a perpetual liability to be distorted from God their only end; and on the other, a heart of God, gradually circulating by its omnipotence into the whole life of man a capacity for conquering even the most unrepented enjoyments. "For by the unbloody Sacrifice," says Nazianzen, "we become partakers both of the sufferings and of the Godhead of Christ." And "the participation of the body and blood of Christ does nothing else (says Leo) than make us to pass into that which we receive." And so when the prayer of forgiveness had resounded from the Cross, it took effect: "a conversion followed, and men drank the blood when they believed, which when they raged they had shed<sup>\*</sup>."

4. Now when we consider thoroughly the workings of grace, as stated very concisely in the words, 'in Christ all shall be made alive,' then it is that we see wherein the Nestorian is a Pelagian. Catholics believe, that men as such are incapable of merit, but that men as Christians are not incapable of

<sup>\*</sup> Naz. p. 70. c. Leo, Serm. 63. v. fin. Aug. Serm. 87. §. 14. 80. §. 5. Sanguinem Christi quem sævientes fude-

runt credentes biberunt. This concise expression of his belief in Transubstantiation the holy Doctor repeats several times.

merit<sup>1</sup>; that is, that Christ can add to human beings a capacity of meriting, which in their own fallen nature they have not. They believe, moreover, that this capacity was purchased for them by the sacrifice of our Lord Jesus Christ upon Calvary, and that the same Sacrifice which originally purchased it, continues the power of possessing it<sup>m</sup>, which power else would fade away from the earth. But Catholics do not believe that the Divine Word was the priest, and the human nature the sacrifice: for this would be to make the Son inferior to the Father as touching his Godhead, and to destroy the Mediatorship of the Son altogether. But what they believe is, that the sacrifice and the priest was the one Person Christ Jesus; who, although he could neither offer nor be offered

<sup>1</sup> Merit in this sense is very often spoken of by the Doctor of Grace. E. g. de Trin. xiii. §. 14. xiv. §. 21. in Ps. xxiv. §. 8. §. 10. in Joan. iii. §. 10. c. Jul. Pel. iii. §. 48. vi. §. 39. de Grat. et lib. Arb. §. 15. &c. Epist. 130. §. 14. 186. §. 8. 194. §. 6. §. 9. §. 19. §. 20. 214. §. 4. In Serm. 203. §. 3. he even says, "hæc est humilitas quâ inseri *meruit* oleaster in olivam." S. Anselm, (an acute follower of this acute master,) de Concordiâ Præsc. et lib. Arb. iii. 3. may be quoted here. "Si autem voluntas *per liberum arbitrium* servando quod accepit *meretur* aut augmentum acceptæ justitiæ aut etiam potestatem pro bonâ voluntate aut præmii aliquod, hæc omnia sunt fructus primæ gratiæ et gratia pro gratiâ et ideo totum imputandum est gratiæ." To which may be added the 2d

Canon, Sess. vi. Conc. Trident. "Si quis dixerit hominis justificati bona opera, ita esse dona Dei, ut non sint etiam bona ipsius justificati merita; aut ipsum justificatum bonis operibus, quæ ab eo *per Dei gratiam et Jesu Christi meritum* cujus vivum membrum est, fiunt, non vere mereri augmentum gratiæ, vitam æternam, et ipsius vitæ æternæ, si tamen in gratiâ decesserit, consecutionem, atque etiam gloriæ augmentum: anathema sit."

<sup>m</sup> Conc. Trident. Sess. xiii. cap. 8. de Eucharistæ.—cujus vigore *confortati* ex hujus miseræ peregrinationis itinere ad cœlestem patriam pervenire *valeant*: and cap. 2. Sumi voluit sacramentum hoc . . . tanquam antidotum quo liberemur a culpis quotidianis et a peccatis mortalibus præservemur.

without the inferior human nature, yet was only able to offer and to be offered acceptably, because that inferior nature was so hypostatically united to the divine, that when he separated it by death into its two parts the soul and the body, each of these continued, during his death, in perfect oneness with God. All merit ascribed to man we hold to have been so purchased by that sacrifice, that no act deserving eternal life could be done either by those preceding or by those that come after the times of Christ", without the grace which it purchased. In none of our fallen race was there ever any thing meritorious in God's sight, except from the sight of that Sacrifice which his eternal and untransient Substance has equally present to it to-day, yesterday, and for ever. "The Incarnation of the Word," says Leo, "conferred the same when it was yet to take place as it did after it had taken place: and the mystery of man's salvation in no period of antiquity ever was void." If this then be the source of all merit, it is clear that if the man Christ Jesus was not one Person with God, neither he that offered, nor that which he offered, was of infinite merit. For the real value of the sacrifice on Calvary lay not in the putting to death of a man, but in the putting to death of Man one with God, in crucifying

<sup>a</sup> Conc. Carthag. ap. Mercator. i. p. 191. sic et ante tempus legis et ipso tempore legis justos patres et ex fide viventes non possibilitas naturæ infirmæ et indignæ et vitiatæ et sub peccato venundatæ sed Dei gratia per fidem justificat et nunc eadem in apertum jam veniens revelata justificat. Conc. Arauc. ii. can. 25. Har-

duin. ii. p. 1101. b. Austin, Epist. 157. §. 4. 190. §. 6. Leo, Sermon. 23. §. 4. 52. §. 1. 76. §. 3.

<sup>o</sup> Sermon. 23. §. 4. Incarnatio Verbi hæc contulit faciendæ, quæ facta. This reading is authorized by a Ms. and is the only one, to me, at once intelligible and authorized.

the Lord of glory. If then that Man had before that time become one with God, he must have become so by grace obtained through some other channel, independently of that Sacrifice. If he became more and more one with God by degrees, till at last he was fit to be a sacrifice of infinite value, then the actions by which he contrived to increase that union were meritorious actions; and as these actions would be the actions of a man subsisting by himself antecedently to the time in which he was so perfectly united as to be fit for sacrifice, the possibility of human merit is established in one instance. "Nobody," says Cassian, "can give what he has not got: therefore, when Christ gave divine grace, he had it<sup>p</sup>." "How," says Cyril, "can he who obtained the dignity of sonship as a gift from another, also give to ourselves a grace not his own, but rather acquired from without." And in his second book against Theodorus: "I am astonished that my adversary should have written, Jesus would never have merited union with the Word, unless he had been first made immaculate by the Unction. For, in the first place, he palpably disjoins and disunites him by thus speaking openly of two sons. Then let him say, when it was that he was (as he says) made immaculate, whether from the very womb, or when he was thirty years old. He came indeed to the Jordan, and sought John's baptism. If he was holy from the womb, in what sense does he say he was *made* holy, and not rather *was* holy. For whatever is said to become, that we must of absolute necessity understand to become something which it was not. But if he always was holy, and did not become so in time,

<sup>p</sup> De Incarn. ii. p. 1247. ed. Basl. 1575, ad calc. Damasc.

how comes he to say the Spirit flew down upon him, and shewed him to be worthy of the union, and added whatever was wanting? For he has said this too in other works of his. Now what was there wanting to him for sanctification, who, from the womb itself, or rather even before the birth after the flesh, was holy, immaculate, and sanctified creatures. Hence, when he says that Jesus would not have merited the union with God the Word, unless he had been first made immaculate, he is writing down several counts against his own vain babbling. For, in the first place, ‘merited’ is an unbecoming term to use: next he disunites him into another separate Son, who is from the seed of David, to whom he impudently endeavours to give the name of ‘Jesus’ for himself separately. Again, to say he was made immaculate, as if at one time he had not had this, is very blasphemous. For God the Word from the very womb was united to his flesh, was one, and so an immaculate Son, was Saint of saints, and from his fulness gave the Spirit not to men only, but even to the rational powers above and in heaven<sup>a</sup>.” And again: “He (Nestorius) thinks he has the thoughts of religious folk, when he says, ‘If it is God that offers, there is nobody for it to be offered to: for how does it suit the Godhead, that he should offer it, as less to the greater?’ Now if any one had insisted upon it, that the Word who is indeed from God as Father, had been appointed to the priesthood before his Incarnation, and installed in the rank of a minister, and was therefore to be called priest and apostle; then it would have been wise enough to have expressed astonishment.” And presently after, “But he (with what sense I know not) forthwith adds,

<sup>a</sup> Ap. Hard. Conc. Gen. iii. p. 93. e. p. 97. d.

‘How is it that God has come to be by them supposed to be now called high-priest, for he needed not any sacrifice in order to his own progress?’ And Nestorius himself cited in the Council of Ephesus: “This is he who advanced little by little to the dignity of the priesthood;” (to prove which he quotes Heb. v. 7. and Luke. ii. 52.) “who offered the sacrifice of his body for himself and his kindred.” And again in another place, Nestorius says, “If any one says that the Word, who was in the beginning, was made the high-priest and apostle of our confession, and offered himself for us, and does not rather say, that the Apostleship was Emmanuel’s, and divide the oblation on the same principle, not attributing to him who united, and to him who was united into the one alliance of the Son, that is to God<sup>a</sup>, the things which are God’s, and to the man the things which are the man’s,—let him be anathema.” On which Mercator observes: “Here he is again with his own Emmanuel (for his own it must be called) as plain as can be; to whom he assigns merits of his own separately, as if a low and much inferior being to the other, who in his system is not ‘God with us,’ but God naturally, who makes the former being a God by deigning to be joined to him, in name and designation a God, but not by nature.” And Cyril, in a synodical epistle; “What offering or sacrifice for himself should he need, who was superior to all sin as being God? For if all have sinned and come short of the glory of God, inasmuch as we are born ready for perversion, and human nature is sick with the feebleness of sin, still he was not so: and herein it

<sup>a</sup> c. Nest. iii. p. 66, d. and      b. Anath. x. ap. Mercator. ii.  
p. 67, b.      p. 122. the clumsy style here  
• Hard. i. p. 1416. e. p. 1417.      is Nestorius’ own.



is that we are short of his glory. How then can there be any doubt but that it was through us and for our sakes, that the true Lamb was sacrificed. But saying he offered himself for himself *and* for us, can by no means be exempted from the charge of heterodoxy<sup>†</sup>.”

5. These passages may suffice to shew, that Nestorianism establishes the principle of human merit, and makes the sacrifice on Calvary unnecessary. For Nestorius clearly holds, that Christ did advance by degrees so as to be fitted for the sacrifice: if then his Christ did so, then any other man might have done so. “This sacrament, this sacrifice, this priest, this God,” (as Augustine speaks,) was not necessary<sup>‡</sup>. It is not a question whether it was possible for Omnipotence to have saved us some other way: but the way which he did adopt, according to the Nestorian system, was quite possible, without the Incarnation. Human merit, according to it, is possible, without the sacrifice of a divine Person. The doctrine of Nestorius is, that a man called Jesus, merited by degrees that ‘accurate conjunction’ with the divine Nature, by which the sacrifice on Calvary proved of avail. Hence Cyril continually urged against him, that he made Christ a holy man, like that of one of the prophets, his union with God differing from theirs in degree only, and not in kind; and insists upon it, that let Nestorius use what evasions he pleased, and ape orthodox language as hypocritically as he chose, he must, by his theory make two sons in Christ, one by nature, and one adopted. But a few quotations will perhaps put this in a clearer

<sup>†</sup> Hard. vol. i. p. 1289, d.

<sup>‡</sup> De Trin. iv. 11.

<sup>§</sup> Nest. ap. Cyril. vol. vii.

p. 48. ἀπηκριβωται εἰς ἄκραν συν-  
ἀφειαν.

light: two or three shall be first given, which shew that the connection between the two heresies was early observed: then some which furnish unconsciously distinct proof of their unity of purpose: and afterwards some passages from the heretic, who, as we shall see in the next chapter, was the father of both these heresies.

6. Photius, in his *Myriobiblion*, a sort of note book on diverse authors, has the following passage: "Have read the book against the Pelagian and Celestian heresy, with the title and copy of the Acts of the western bishops against the dogmas of Nestorius, wherein is written, that the Nestorian and Celestian heresy is the same. And it quotes Cyril of Alexandria in proof, who says, in a letter to the Emperor Theodosius, that the Nestorian is the same heresy as the Celestian. And this is plain, he says, because the Celestians boldly assert of the body or members of Christ, i. e. the Church, that it is not God, i. e. the Holy Spirit, who distributes to them in particular faith, and all that relates to life, orthodoxy, and salvation, as he wills; but that it is that inferior nature of man which by transgression and sin was banished from happiness, and severed from God, and delivered over to death, which either invites or rejects the Holy Spirit according to the merit of free will. But the Nestorians have the same sentiment and impertinence about Christ himself, the head of the body. For they say, that since Christ is of our nature, and God wishes all men alike to be saved, and every one by his own free will to correct his own fall, and to make himself worthy of him, this is why it was not the Word which was born, but that he who was generate of Mary, through the merit of his own natural free will, had the Word

following him, sharing in the Sonship with the Word, by merit only, and in the common name\*." John Cassian thus commences his fifth book on the Incarnation against the Nestorians: "In my first book I have said, that the heresy, which is the disciple and imitation of the Pelagian heresy, used every effort and battled in every way to shew that the Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, born of a Virgin, should be believed to be nothing more than a mere man: and that having afterwards taken up the way of virtue, he obtained by living piously and religiously merit enough by this sanctity of life to have the divine Majesty joined to him: and by thus shutting him out entirely from the dignity of his sacred conception, (originis,) there was nothing left to him but the mere choice of merit alone." And soon after: "But let us proceed, that all men may know that he is seeking for fires in Pelagian ashes, and is kindling the old embers with new blasts of sacrilege." And again, in the sixth book†: "If it be not the same Christ who was Son of Mary as was Son of God, then beyond a doubt you are making two Christs: following forsooth the abomination of Pelagius's impiety, which, while it asserts that a mere man was born from the Virgin, makes him the instructor of mankind, rather than their Redeemer." Mercator, a cotemporary and correspondent of St. Austin's, in several places intimates their connection, but this will be more conveniently considered in the next chapter. Let us proceed to passages of the second kind mentioned. Cyril‡, in his treatise

\* Cod. 54. p. 14. ed. Bekk.

† p. 1263, 1264, 1277. see also p. 1241. and Petav. de Incarn. i. 12. Garnier ad Mercat.

i. p. 84. Asseman. iv. p. 256-70. Lupus, vol. vii. p. 22.

‡ Vol. vii. p. 108, 9. I have rendered *ἄνω κάτω*, *καὶ ὑπὸ* and

against Nestorius, has the following passage: "He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, abides in me, and I in him. Remember, (says Nestorius) that this saying relates to the flesh. As the living Father has sent me, me that you see. But it will be said, I misinterpret sometimes. Let us hear from what follows then. As the living Father has sent me, that is, has sent the Godhead, he says, I say, has sent the humanity. Let us see then which it is that misinterprets: the heretic (perhaps Proclus) here says the Godhead—the Father has sent me, God the Word; and I, that is according to him, God the Word, live through the Father. Then after this comes, 'he that eateth me, he shall live also.' Which do we eat, the Godhead or the flesh, eh?" To this Cyril replies: "So then you say that the flesh only was sent, do you, and asseverate, that he who was seen was this flesh. It suffices then by itself, does it, to give life to that which was under death's thrall! What do the inspired Scriptures mean then by their idle rhapsodies about the Word of God the Father having become flesh, which they assert up and down them every where? For what possible need could

down them; perhaps it should be, in every possible manner. v. Ast. ad Platon. Phædr. §. 127. The closing words of this passage are confessedly corrupt. I have rendered as if it were, *καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐτέρου κατ' οὐδένα κ. τ. λ.* for which construction of *ἐτέρος*, with a genitive, see Kühner's Gr. Gr. §. 513, 4. *ἐν μεθίξει γεγόναμεν τῆς ἁγίας σαρκὸς* occurs on the next page. In p. 156. d. he says, "We believe the body exposed (on the altar) not to be the body of a

common man like us:" and on the same passage of Nestorius, he says, p. 193. "He destroys the nature of the union, that Christ's body may be found a common one:" and speaks also very frequently of his making the holy communion cannibalism. See also in Conc. Ephes. Hard. i. p. 1290, and Dial. p. 720. e. p. 777. c. Whence it appears, that the doctrine in the text is Cyril's at all events: but the present edition of Cyril is a wretched one in all respects.

there be of the Word, if the human nature was enough, even though it were supposed to be alone and by itself, to effect for us the doing away of death, and to put an end to the power of corruption? If then it is as you fancy indeed and choose to think, not God the Word who was sent in order that he might become like us, but (as you were saying) the visible flesh only that was sent from the Father, how can any one fail to see that we have been made partakers of a human body, and one in no respect whatever different from our own." A passage shall now be added from St. Austin, in which (except for one or two expressions) it might be imagined that he was writing against a Nestorian instead of a Pelagian. "You say," (he replies to the Pelagian Julian,) "that it is clearly taught in Scripture, that the justice of the humanity taken by the Son of God, owed its origin not to any difference of nature, but to the action of the will. Indeed! had not Christ then this difference in his nature, that he was so born of a Virgin, as not to be the Son of man only, but of God also. Was then that Incarnation which made God and man to be one Person, of no use towards conferring on that man that eminence of justice, which you say owed its origin to the action of the will? Has your defence of free will driven you thus headlong against the grace of God, that you say that the Mediator himself merited being the only-begotten Son by his own will, and that that is false which the whole Church confesses, to wit, that she believes in one Jesus Christ our Lord, the Son of God the Father Almighty, born of the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary? For, according to you, man was not taken by the Word of God so as to be born of a Virgin, but when born of a Virgin, afterwards, by the value of his own will, he

progressed, and caused his being taken by the Word of God, and did not by the taking have such a great will, but arrived at that taking by such a great will: nor was the Word made flesh in the Virgin's womb, but afterwards, by the merit of the humanity itself, and of its human and voluntary virtue. From which also it follows, that as you believe him to be therefore taken by the Word of God because he wished it, so you should believe, that many would have been so taken if they also had wished it in the same way, or can be if they wish it: and consequently that it comes from the idleness of the human will that he was the only one, since there might have been many, if men wished." It has been made a question\*, whether St. Austin did not here mistake the argument which Julian was using: but, as it seems unlikely that he, so acute as he was, should not have known what was really in Julian's mind, and as this is not the only passage of the kind; the probability is, that he is right. At all events, when he thus followed out what he thought Julian meant, to its consequences, it is plain that he saw that the denial of original sin would lead by a few steps to the disannulling of the Incarnation.

7. If a passage or two are now added from Theodorus of Mopsuesta, they may perhaps beget a suspicion in the reader's mind, that some of that arch-heretic's works had come to St. Augustine's knowledge. "Christ," says he, "was ruled by the Holy Spirit, was strengthened by him, to will what

\* By Garnier, ad Mercat, i. 146. iii. 51. c. 2. Ep. Pel. ii. p. 332. but St. A. has observations of a similar tendency §. 3. iv. §. 2. §. 6. de N. et G. §. 10. de Sp. et Lit. §. 63. not only here, (Op. Imp. iv. Epist. ad Dard. quoted above, 84.) but also *ibid.* i. 138. ii. p.

he proposed, by him was led to those things which were right, by him was taught what was fitting, by him was strengthened with [good] thoughts, that he might be equal to such a great struggle: as also St. Paul says, 'For those who are led by the Spirit of God, these are the sons of God.'" "The Lord had more disquiet, and a greater struggle against the passions of the soul than of the body, and conquered lusts with better spirit as the Deity intervened to help him to perfection." "I do not envy Christ made God, because if I will, I become so too<sup>b</sup>." These passages shew, that Theodore regarded Christ as a mere man; and though there have not been wanting those who for one purpose or another have tried to explain them away, it is certain that he has long been in high esteem amongst Nestorians, and that he did not long enjoy much esteem among Catholics. Something further on this subject will be said in the sequel. But enough has been said to shew, that both Nestorians and Pelagians regarded Christ as capable of lust, ignorance, and all those struggles which are incident to fallen human nature. Hence he was in their system a 'Saviour who needed to be saved,' and required a sacrifice. He merited by degrees the fitness to be a sacrifice. He furnished a plain proof, therefore, that human nature could merit without a divine Saviour; otherwise he could not have grown to be what he was: and any body not too idle might save man. There is no seeing why upon their theory another Saviour should not arise, and add something more to improve man's condition. If this be an odious and a detestable

<sup>b</sup> Ap. Hard. iii. p. 429. and Mercat. i. p. 120. ii. p. 264. 430. Liber. in Brev. p. 50. See also the next chapter, §. 5. p. 74. p. 81. ibiq. Garn. et ad and vi. §. 13.

system, then all heresies akin to it, as well as itself, deserve a portion of the intense hatred due to it and to Pelagianism.

8. It may possibly be worth while just to suggest here, that the real foundation of either system lies in something which seems at first only a very remote step towards them. Catholic doctors then hold, that Almighty God, and he only, is capable of pervading<sup>c</sup> with his own substance the substance of all spirits. This power, though it does not constitute the Incarnation, is a pre-requisite, essential in order to it. This power lies likewise at the bottom of the system of grace: it does not seem possible for God to move free-will, yet not injure or destroy it, without this power. Now both Pelagius and Nestorius seem to deny this power to God; for Pelagius has no idea of grace, except as an external influence acting by means of example or exhortation, but not by any interior agency. Nestorius cannot conceive the possibility of human nature becoming one Person with God. The ignorance of this power of God seems also to be at the bottom of the Protestant and Jansenistic aversion to the doctrine of inherent justice: to say nothing of the denial of the beatific vision, of which Nestorians<sup>d</sup> and others have been known to be guilty.

9. Nor will it be amiss to suggest to reflecting persons to consider, whether the doctrine of the

\* Petav. de Trinit. viii. 6. §. 2. 7. §. 10.

<sup>d</sup> Assem. B. O. iv. p. 172. 232. 348. ii. p. 287. asserts this of certain Nestorians. Beatus et Etherius in Canis, ii. p. 365. seem to imply it of the Adoptionists. Indeed their theory

would lead them to deny it to the soul of Christ itself, and much more to his members. In what sense some Catholics have appeared to deny it, may be seen in Lorenzana's note ad Julian. Prognost. ii. 28.




single Procession\*, which is favoured clearly by Pelagians, and probably by Nestorians, has not an intimate relation to the intrinsical identity of the two heresies. Certain texts occur in Scripture, where the Holy Spirit is spoken of as the Spirit of Christ, as given by Christ, as breathed forth from Christ, as receiving from Christ. For such texts the Catholic doctrine of the double Procession furnishes a scope, when preceded by the belief in the hypostatic union. An eternal Spirit, without any inferior nature belonging to his Person, cannot be said to receive at all—still less to receive from a creature such as the Nestorian Jesus was: to represent him as receiving, would be to deny his immutability, unless that receiving were something eternal, as the Son's receiving of life from the Father was eternal. To represent the Holy Spirit then as receiving from Christ, is tantamount to representing him as eternally proceeding from Christ; for it cannot be said that it is in the Saints', and because of his union with them that he is here said to receive: else there would be no sense in the words, 'and shall give to you.' But to represent the Holy Spirit as eternally proceeding not from the Word but also from Christ, i. e. from the Word made flesh, is to assert the unity of Person in Christ; or else it would be allowing to the man Christ

\* Of the Pelagians, see Garn. ad Mercator. i. p. 310, 2. Of the Nestorians, Petav. de Trin. vii. 17. §. 11. Le Quien. Diss. Dam. i. §. 4. Catalani ad Conc. Ephes. i. p. 209. but Garn. ii. p. 325. thinks this not absolutely certain. Leo Allatius Vind. Syn. Ephes. p. 65 agrees with Garnier and Petav. in attributing this error to Mop-suestene: and Zernicau tries to prove that he was orthodox on

the whole, i. p. 105. Asseman. B. O. iv. p. 233. says, that he has no proof that the Chaldees denied the double Procession. Pseudo-Marco in Ass. Cod. Lit. v. p. 297. has only 'ex patre procedit. The intrinsic probability of the Nestorians holding such an error is too great not to give colour to the statements alleging it.

' See above, cap. ii. §. 10. and below, cap. ix. §. 12.

the power of obliging the Holy Spirit to exercise that eminently divine attribute of pervading all spirits as he pleased. Either of these alternatives would be odious to the Nestorian, whether he shrunk from them owing to a clear perception of their irreconcilableness with his own principles, or owing to the vigilance of Satanic foresight over a soul it had once enmeshed. The Pelagian, on the other hand, would ill relish a doctrine which went directly towards ascribing to the Redeemer such a power, not only of penetrating men's souls, and illuminating their understandings, but also of infusing strength into their wills, as he denied there was any necessity for. For the text, 'Whatsoever he (the Spirit of Truth) shall hear, that shall he speak, and the things that are to come he shall shew you,' attributes plainly to the Spirit an interiorly illuminating power: and the assertions, 'he shall receive of mine,' 'all that the Father hath is mine,' which follow it almost immediately, shew that he receives that power from the one Lord Jesus Christ. He is to 'teach all things, and bring all things to mind.' Where he is, there is liberty of the will, the grace of adoption and exemption from that bondage of corruption, the existence of which Pelagians denied. The disciples are to know this Spirit, because he shall abide with them and be in them. Had Pelagianism had no distinct connection with the denial of the hypostatic union, still it would have abhorred a doctrine which made Christ a Mediator, in so distinct and preeminent a manner, as to make the very essence of his Mediation lie in his being a Person, who from his divine nature was capable of giving that eternal Spirit which eternally proceeded from him. But if speculations of this nature seem of too abstruse a character for a work



like the present, let the reader at least master and retain the *fact*, that as Nestorians and Pelagians are both accused of maintaining a single Procession, so the great doctors of the Incarnation and of grace, Leo, Cyril, and Augustine, are the most distinct assertors of the double Procession.

## CHAP. IV.

## HISTORICAL CONNECTION BETWEEN NESTORIANISM AND PELAGIANISM.

1. SECONDLY. It has been shewn by learned men<sup>a</sup>, that Theodore of Antioch, (a secularized monk, who afterwards got himself made Bishop of Mopsuesta,) held and taught several positions analogous to those afterwards maintained by Nestorius and Pelagius. He lived till the year 428, and was the author of a large number of works upon a variety of subjects, which gave him a great and extended reputation. Among these were treatises against Eunomius, Apollinaris, and other heretics, a work upon the Incarnation, and commentaries upon several parts of Scripture, some of which have been brought to light during the present century. But our principal knowledge of him is derived from the fragments of his works cited in councils, or in authors engaged in controversy. His work upon, or (as some artfully turned it) against<sup>b</sup>, the Incarnation was confuted by St. Cyril, in a work now lost, except some fragments.

<sup>a</sup> See Petav. de Inc. ii. 7. vii. 10. 6. Noris. Hist. Pelag. cap. ix. Diss. de Syn. Quintâ, p. 783. Catalani in Ecum. i. pp. 202. 221. Garnier ad Mercator. i. p. 423. ii. p. 267. Berti de Incarn. xvi. cap. 17.

<sup>b</sup> See Photius Cod. 177. Garn. l. c. i. pp. 31. 98.—Mai. Coll. Nov. i. p. xx. and Basnage ad Canis, i. p. 583. are somewhat wroth that the book

should be said to be ‘against the Incarnation.’ But perhaps the truth was, he wrote *κατὰ τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως*, and that Leontius and others availed themselves of the double sense of *κατὰ*, to put upon the title a sense which the contents amply justify. See Hesych. quoted below, note h, and Catalani ad Ecum. ii. p. 8.

It seems also that he wrote a work in defence of the Pelagian doctrine against St. Austin<sup>e</sup>; and it would be a hypothesis, not destitute of all proof, that St. Austin had had some account of its contents<sup>a</sup> conveyed to him, though probably he had never seen any of his works.

2. In process of time the Emperor Justinian, an orthodox but meddlesome prince, being swayed by persons who wished to derogate from the authority of the council of Chalcedon<sup>e</sup>, procured the condemnation of Theodorus long after his death. That council, in extra-synodal acts<sup>f</sup>, had allowed of the orthodoxy of Theodorus, Theodore<sup>t</sup>, and Ibas: all men, who favoured, or were thought to favour, the Nestorian party. Now these extra-synodal acts were easily confused by the unthinking with the regular synodical acts of the Fathers of Chalcedon. To set the former aside, therefore, had the appearance and the effect of disparaging the latter. To disparage a council which had condemned Eutychianism, would open a wider field for the dissemination of Mono-

\* Phot. l. i. ap. Garnier, l. c. i. p. 98. A catalogue of such of his works as were translated into Syriac is given by Ebed-jesus in Assem. B. O. iii. p. 30.

<sup>a</sup> Mercator was in correspondence with St. Austin: see Præf. Bened. ad Hypognosticum, App. ad vol. x. and very possibly might have given him accounts of Theodorus' writings; whence it may be, that the saying of Theodore, quoted cap. iii. §. 7. and note, p. 110. was before St. A.'s mind as an incredible blasphemy, which he yet wished to refute by anticipation if it did prove true. It

may be worth suggesting, that if the Hypognosticon was written originally in Greek, which M. knew well, and translated into Latin, all that Garnier says (Præf. p. v. and p. 364.) against his authorship will fall to the ground, and what the Benedictines say for it be confirmed.

\* See Catalani, ii. p. 3, &c.

<sup>f</sup> Pelag. 2. ap. Hard. iii. p. 424. b. Qui unit cum Chalcedonensi synodo, *in solâ fidei causâ convocata, cuncta quæ illic specialiter gesta sunt, se procul dubio extraneum demonstrat; where more may be found on the subject.*

physitism. This a party about the court wished for, and so induced Justinian to condemn Theodorus, the epistle of Ibas, and the work of Theodoret (then a heretic<sup>g</sup>), against the twelve anathemas of St. Cyril. These subjects formed three heads or chapters of discussion, and the controversy about them went by the name of the controversy 'of the three chapters.' Eventually Theodorus was himself anathematized by Popes Vigilius and Pelagius<sup>h</sup>, as a Nestorian. Before the Pelagian controversy, he had maintained what was the very root of the whole of Pelagianism, viz. that Adam did not become mortal<sup>i</sup> by the fall, but was created so. He had also asserted previously, that Christ required the aid of the Spirit, and progressed by degrees in the conquest of his lusts, and did not become altogether blameless till after the Resurrection<sup>k</sup>.

3. We see then in Theodore a fountain admirably suited for watering the evil tendencies of

<sup>g</sup> Theodoretus dudum sanctæ Ecclesiæ diversa sentiens et contra. B. Cyrilli, xii. cap. scribens. . . ut Christum quasi ostenderet per incrementa ad divinitatem crevisse. Pelag. ii. ap. H. iii. p. 437. a. c. Whether Leo's Epistle acquitting him is genuine, admits a doubt. See Baller. ad Leon. i. p. 1218. and comp. Garn. ad Merc. i. p. xxiv. The secretaries of Alexandria, ap. Hard. ii. p. 952. d. are more express still;—hi qui cum Theodoretō Cyrorum civitatis Episcopo *tunc fuerant* Nestorianæ hæresis sectatores.

<sup>h</sup> Pel. ap. H. l. c. Vigil. *ibid.* iii. p. 241.

<sup>i</sup> Garnier ad M. i. p. 394. Certis veterum testimoniis con-

ficiam, primum, hanc quæstionem, An Adamus creatus sit mortalis, omnium primam exitisse: deinde ex ejus agitatione enatam aliam, de peccato et baptismo parvulorum: tum ex istâ tertiam, de imbecillitate naturæ ad opera pietatis atque necessitate gratiæ divinæ ad singulos actus: denique ex tertiâ quartum de gratiâ præveniente. In regard to Theodorus's authorship of this principle, see Noris H. Pel. i. 9. Ass. B. O. iv. p. 256. Garn. ad Merc. i. p. 31. 104.

<sup>k</sup> Vide Hard. iii. p. 27, e. or 82, b. Leont. ap. Canis, p. 580. xxxvi. nonnisi per martyrium consummatus. Mercator. ii. p. 264.

Pelagius. Ruffinus, a Syrian, probably an insidious disciple of St. Jerome's<sup>1</sup>, learnt the heresies of Theodorus in Cilicia, and brought them to Rome, and there he taught them to Pelagius, who, according to St. Jerome, came from the *neighbourhood* of Britain, and is thought by the Benedictines<sup>m</sup> to have been a native of Ireland. Whether there is any truth in the story, that his original name was Morgan, or whether it is a mere fiction made out of the name, one need not determine here; suffice it to say, that the name Pelagius was sufficiently common in Italy and elsewhere, not to furnish any difficulty which requires to be explained, by recourse to Celtic etymologies. The heresy itself was not learnt in our country, but in Rome, and not itself born in Rome, but brought from Cilicia, the very country where the great Apostle of grace had studied. In this way then the heresy of Pelagius may be traced up to Theodorus for its birth: how far it was indebted to him in its maturer years, we shall see by and by. But if it can be shewn, that Nestorius also learnt from the same master, then a historical connection between the two heresies will have been established.

<sup>1</sup> Garn. i. p. 111. 32. 130. 286. 394. Tournely de Grat. p. 88. Noris confuses him with R. of Aquileia, H. Pel. p. 18—25. See however vol. iv. p. 826.

<sup>m</sup> See Præf. ad vol. x. Augustine: comp. ad Epist. 186, c. Jerome makes him *Scoticæ gentis progeniem de Britannorum vicinia*. See for this use of Scoticus, Diffenbach Keltica, iii. p. 428. The names of the Scoti mentioned in Bede ii. 19. to whom John IV. writes,

are mostly Irish, if that be worth noticing. St. David also combated the Pelagians. It may be added, that while the Celtic element predominated in France, the Semipelagians throve there: whereas when it had faded away, Predestinarians took root. The unprincipled part of any nation may be swayed towards particular heresies, somewhat as maniacs towards particular fancies.

4. Nestorius, like Theodorus, was originally of Antioch. Now there are abundant statements to shew, that Nestorius learnt his heresy from Theodorus: one of them it will be proper to introduce here. The Clergy of Persia and Armenia, in a letter to Proclus of Constantinople, state, that when Theodore first broached his heresy, "Nestorius was distressed and annoyed at what he said, and a good deal of excitement of another kind was, as we find in John of Antioch's letter to Nestorius, created among the people, owing to words of his so grating to the Christian Churchman. But Theodorus, by persevering a good long while, persuaded several, and among them Nestorius, that Christ the Son of the living God, who was born of the holy Virgin Mary, is not God the Word, who was born of the Father, of one substance with his Begetter, but a man, who, in proportion to the amount of his own will, received cooperation from God the Word, and did not merit the union of God the Word, till he had become immaculate, so that he partakes in immaculateness, sonship, and Lordship in name only. 'How, he said, is to be one by union possible for man and God? for him who saves, and is saved? for him who is before the ages, and him who came from Mary? for the Lord and the servant, the creator and the creature? . . . . But when the impious Nestorius along with others was persuaded, then was the devil glad, that by his son Theodorus, he had persuaded many, and Nestorius among them, to be slaves of error<sup>a</sup>." Peter in his letter to Fulgentius from the East, Cyril, Rabulas, Liberatus, and others<sup>o</sup>, all repre-

<sup>a</sup> Hard. iii. p. 99, 100.

B. O. iii. p. 35. n. 4. See also

<sup>o</sup> Ibid. p. 101. b. p. 102. b. p. 103. c. Lib. Diac. Brev. cap. 10. Garn. ad M. i. p. 95. Assem.

ibid. p. 84. n. 3. whence the authority of Th. with the Nestorians appears.



sent Nestorius as the disciple of this learned heresiarch, and the pains taken by Nestorians to disseminate his works, coupled with the fact that they regarded them as symbolic books, make it sufficiently clear that the substantial connection between the two was obvious to the heretics themselves.

5. But as the leaders of both parties may be said to have sprung from a common parent, so their subsequent fraternizing with each other farther proves their relationship. As, however, their family likeness does not extend to their errors only, but also to that diabolical cunning for which almost all heretics have been remarkable, it may not be amiss, before mentioning some of the facts which prove their subsequent friendship, to bring forward some points which tend to prove the existence of this hypocritical spirit. It is always possible, that a person disposed to enquire, may look to some facts from which he thinks he can prove that justice has not been done to heretics. Hence it is right to observe, that as Arians called the Son very God, without thereby meaning he was of the same substance as the Father, so Theodorus and his children, Julian and Nestorius, make statements which sound very like the truth, and which even might be true, if they were said in simplicity by a person whose orthodoxy was above suspicion. Let no one therefore imagine, that because he can adduce passages which have an orthodox sound, he is doing injured men a justice, which men of the greatest acuteness and sanctity denied them. If human nature at its best is liable to do such injustice, it cannot be very certain of escaping so doing, when it has not the humility to prefer the decision of others to its own wisdom, and to think better of their fairness than of its own. The serpent

must beguile before it can sting; and he who cherishes it may find this is so to his eternal loss. Now Theodore seems to have possessed this power in perfection. Hesychius, a trustworthy historian, informs us, that after leaving Antioch, owing to some misconduct, he passed first to Tarsus, where he wished it seems to be made bishop. Thence he passed to Mopsuesta, and having reformed his life for a time through the remonstrances of St. Chrysostome, he contrived to get the bishopric, "God not willing that the preaching of his impiety should take place openly yet awhile. The first elements of his doctrine he drew from the vain babbling of Jews<sup>p</sup>, and so he wrote a book upon the prophecies of the Psalms, in which he denies that any of the parts which speak of our Lord apply to him. When he was taxed with this, and found himself in danger, he contradicted himself, not of his own accord, but because he was forced to do so, by finding every body clamorous against him: so he promised to destroy the book, but privily reserved it, as a viaticum for his Judaical heterodoxy<sup>q</sup>." We have then here a man who leaves his own place for misconduct, repents, grows sick of repentance, and acts hypocritically when occasion requires. Let us now see whether Nestorius shews any thing of the same artful disposition. When he began to be suspected, he informs the Pope, that he daily used both

<sup>p</sup> Comp. Leont. ap. Canis. 577. xii. Mai. Coll. Nov. i. p. xxiv. xxvii. Vigil. Const. H. iii. p. 22. 78. gives instances. The use of allegorical interpretation (so often forced on our notice by the Roman Breviary) was a note of orthodoxy in those days.

The abuse of it by Origen perhaps led Theodore to condemn it altogether, and treat Scripture Judaically.

<sup>q</sup> Hesych. in Hard. iii. p. 103. 432. See Garnier, i. p. 129.

anger and lenity<sup>r</sup> against those whom he accuses of Apollinarianism and Arianism; from which you might suppose he was a person of judicious firmness, and not of overbearing cruelty. But the words of Basil, an archimandrite, who felt his anger, will not leave him much character for lenity: the reader shall judge for himself, whether they give him much credit for uprightness.

6. "I dare say many people will not give credit to the things we have suffered at his hands; for when we wanted to come to a clear understanding, whether what we had heard of him was true or false, we went up to the episcopal palace at his own bidding and advice. Well, he put us off to another day two or three times, and at last, he did come out and say, State in a few words what it is you want: when he was told by us, that what he had taught was not agreeable to orthodoxy, to wit, that Mary brought forth nothing more than a man of the same essence as herself, and that nothing can be born of the flesh but flesh; he immediately had us taken up, and, as a host of his hangers on kept beating us the while, we were brought to the tribunals, there, like impious miscreants, were stripped, and when stripped, and bound to a stake with every indignity, and thrown on the ground, we were beaten and kicked about. Such, to be brief, is the unjust treatment we met at his unjust hands, in a church too: such, as I will not say clerics, monks, or archimandrites, but not even men of the lowest condition meet with in the civil court. However, when we had been a good long while in torture there, and were famishing with

<sup>r</sup> See his letter to the Pope and p. 149. 234. it is in Hard. in Garn. l. c. i. p. 68. where Concil. i. p. 1338. Basil's statement is also given,

hunger, we were kept in custody for no short period: still his fury was not glutted enough to be quiet even with this, and so for some pretence or other, we were handed over to the prefect of the city, and carried off to prison loaded with irons; they dragged us again from this, and brought us up before the pretor again in chains. And when it was seen that no one was forthcoming, to accuse us, we were brought again by his hangers on into the culprits' place, and there again openly beaten by him. At last, with a set speech, he gave what we found afterwards was a fraudulent assent to the statement, that the natural Son of God was born of Holy Mary, Mother of God—adding that there is also another Son: and so at last he let us go.”

7. With this Theodorus and with Nestorius, the Pelagians when driven from Italy found a refuge. The Pelagians were men of “strong and active intellects,” and it is not to be wondered that Nestorius, who was always craftily at work to extend his own influence<sup>†</sup>, should receive them with hospitality. It is true, indeed, that he preached against their denial of original sin<sup>‡</sup>, in sermons, of which fragments are preserved by Mercator, who heard them delivered. But, perhaps, he was not really orthodox upon original sin himself<sup>§</sup>, and certainly he might have been shrewd enough to perceive, that upon the power of human merit, the Pelagians and himself

\* Aug. de Nat. et Gr. §. 6. speaks of their ingenia fortissima et celerrima, c. 2. Epist. Pel. ii. §. 5. Epist. clxxxvi. 413. and Gelas. ap. Hard. ii. p. 888. a. calls them oratorie fœcundiæ viros. Other testimonies will be found in Garnier, i. p. 267.

† See Garn. ad Merc. ii. præf. p. v.

‡ Ibid. i. p. 73, &c.

§ Ibid. i. p. 432. Nestorius non bene sensisse videtur de peccato ipso originali prout mente discernitur a debito moriendi. comp ii. p. 64. iii.

were of one mind. Minor differences he might hope would be soothed down by the good offices of their common master, Theodorus. 'Never,' says the Pope to him in penetrating words, 'do things adverse to each other coalesce without suspicion. Out would the Pelagians be cast, if to you they were as distasteful as to us?'" To the Pope he affected ignorance of the fact, that the Pelagians were condemned, though Zosimus had announced the fact ten years before to the Bishops of the whole world<sup>a</sup>. To the emperor he seems to have shewn his knowledge of this fact, by using his influence with him to procure their exclusion from his decree against heretics<sup>a</sup>. To make room for his own heresy, says Vincentius, he lashed all other heresies when necessary, but 'took care cleverly, or rather craftily,' (says Cassian,) to do what he could for Pelagianism, "not relishing the notion of having a heresy so near akin to his own, severed from the Church<sup>b</sup>."

8. It is probable that Theodorus was dead before the actual accession of Nestorius to the throne of Constantinople, in 428<sup>c</sup>; but as the learned dispute about the dates, it is possible enough that Nestorius may not have been aware of his death when first he received the Pelagian Bishops. Some time before this, Theodore had Julian, one of the cleverest of the Pelagian party, staying with him, and at that period probably wrote his book against Augustine. However, about the year 423, a Council was held by Maximus, of Anazarba, who was of the Nestorian-

<sup>a</sup> Hard. i. p. 1306. e.

<sup>a</sup> Noris. H. Pel. i. 14. Zosimus had written in 418 to the Bishops of the whole world, see Aug. Epist. cxc. §. 22. ccxv. §. 2. *ibid.* Bened.

<sup>a</sup> Garn. i. p. 5.

<sup>b</sup> Vinc. Com. §. 16. Cassian. de Inc. i. p. 1241. ap. Garn. l. c. i. p. 74.

<sup>c</sup> Assem. B. O. ii. p. 35. n. 4. Garn. i. p. 74, 2.

izing party at Ephesus<sup>d</sup>, in which Theodore consented to condemn his friend Julian in such way as to satisfy the bishops<sup>e</sup>: if the acts of the Council remained, perhaps we might see by what artful evasion the heretic contrived to beguile a number of rural bishops. If they had made out much to his honour, it is hardly conceivable that the ingenious and learned Facundus should not have been able to produce something in his favour from them. But that he was erased from the diptychs soon after his death in his own city is put beyond any doubt, by the examination instituted by Justinian<sup>f</sup>. The name he had long enjoyed with some, on account of his learned and numerous writings, vanished after the confirmation of the fifth General Council by the Popes; and Pelagius the second in a letter, thought to have been written by Gregory, (afterwards the Apostle of England,) suggests<sup>g</sup>, that he is now perhaps in torments only the keener, in proportion to the multitude of his blasphemous productions. Hesychius also tells us, that his book on the Incarnation was written when he was weak with old age, and had not a spark of orthodoxy left in him<sup>h</sup>. So that if we put but little faith in the condemnations of Popes and Councils, and go by historical evidence only, there would even then be reason to fear, that this saint of the Nestorians and doctor of the Pelagians has his portion with the hypocrites. If we rely on

<sup>d</sup> Garn. i. p. 219. See Proœm. ad Canon. Ephes. Hard. i. p. 1622. His name is sometimes made Maximian or Maximine.

<sup>e</sup> Garn. l. c. p. 148. 149.

<sup>f</sup> Harduin. vol. iii. p. 123, &c. whence it appears, that the oldest people then alive, A.D.

550, never recollected or heard of his name being in the diptychs: St. Cyril's was put in the place of it.

<sup>g</sup> Hard. iii. p. 430. xi.

<sup>h</sup> Hesych. *ibid.* p. 104. b. *minimâ pietatis scintilla, si qua forte in eo fuisset, inveteratâ.*

the decrees of the Church, we shall not hesitate with Pelagius the second to say, "If Theodore condemned our Lord and God Jesus after death, why should Theodore, who by so many blasphemies made himself the enemy of our Redeemer, not be anathematized after death<sup>i</sup>?"

9. It was not till after Julian had left Theodore and returned to Italy, and been a second time driven out from thence by St. Celestine, and probably from Constantinople by St. Atticus<sup>k</sup>, that he went as aforesaid to Nestorius. Doubtless Theodore would have informed Julian that he might expect to find a friend in Nestorius. Theodore was too acute not to see that there was no essential difference between them. He himself held both heresies: he had taught Nestorius personally, and Pelagius through Ruffinus: he would have little doubt in his own mind, and little difficulty in persuading Julian, that they could not long be at variance, whatever appearances of difference Nestorius might find it convenient to put on. Julian himself might be supposed to need Theodore's encouragement, as he was the great champion of that branch of Pelagianism which denied original sin, and this, as we have seen, Nestorius preached against. But Theodore was not wrong in recommending him to Julian as a friend: for he and his party continued with Nestorius till the time of the council which condemned him. At Ephesus they joined with him in

<sup>i</sup> So Berti de Incarn. xvi. cap. 17. §. 20. who gives the words very differently from, and more intelligibly than, Harduin, l. c. p. 428. d. The substance is the same. Yet I am not without suspicion, that

*damnavit* is wrong still, and that some word answering to the Greek ἐδικορομήσαε (Matt. xxiv. 51. being alluded to) is wanted.

<sup>k</sup> Garn. l. c. p. 149.

getting together a party who styled themselves a council, and sanctioned some of their own errors. This same alliance is noticed over and over again in the acts of the council, so as to put it beyond a doubt, that those between whose doctrine there is an intrinsic connection, exhibited that connection in an outward and visible friendship<sup>1</sup>. At Ephesus, however, they were condemned in the third General Council, at which St. Cyril presided by special commission from the Holy See, and was allowed, which is not usual, to subscribe his name before the Legates who were present.

10. Let us pause here, and make one or two observations upon this story. First, it is observable, that the way in which Nestorius made two persons or hypostases in Christ, was by denying Mary to be the Mother of God, and ridiculing the notion of a two or three months' old God<sup>m</sup>. He complained, that there was danger of making people think by this name<sup>n</sup> she was a goddess, and he and some of his followers are represented as objecting to the Catholic doctrine, as if it made James<sup>o</sup> the brother of God just in the same sense as it made Mary his Mother. 2. Next it is to be observed, that both parties drew their doctrine from a man who taught that Christ became immaculate by degrees; who though he may have allowed a union with God from the first in Christ, yet in this would not hold enough to shut

<sup>1</sup> Affuerunt inter alios nec deseruerunt eum Cœlestiani, iniquitatis operarii. Habuit ergo secum sui magistros exilii. . . . Nam separare difficile est quos scelera sola junxerunt, &c. Cœlestine in Epist. ad Constantin. H. i. p. 1682. a. See p. 1493. b. p. 1501. d. p. 1508. b. p. 1585, 6.

p. 1591. c. p. 1610 e. p. 1674. a. Catalani l. c. i. p. 199—202.

<sup>m</sup> Conc. Ephes. H. i. p. 1398. d. 1435. a.

<sup>n</sup> Cyril. c. Nest. p. 28-9.

<sup>o</sup> Nest. ap. Hard. i. p. 1418. e. Jo. Maxent. in B. P. vol. iv. pt. i. p. 478. c.



out the doctrine of human merit as virtually held by both parties. For Nestorius's Christ was not fit to be sacrificed at first, and so both parties ascribed to a creature the power of originating the movements of grace. 3. Though the Nestorian party accused Cyril of Arianism, Eunomianism, and Apollinarianism<sup>p</sup>, they did not accuse him of Pelagianism. This is said to throw into a strong light the character of the passages selected probably by Cyril himself, in the council, from earlier fathers. For almost all of them tell against Pelagianism as well as against Nestorianism. Thus, Peter of Alexandria (311.) teaches that we are sinners, and saved by grace and not by works; Athanasius uses Rom. v. 14. in the very sense Augustine used it against the Pelagians: viz. to shew that death came from sin, (in his book *ad Epictetum* he is quite Augustinian.) Theophilus observes, that Christ avoided being born by concupiscence, as other men, and that he was born without sin, and attributes the infirmities of the body, as St. Austin did, to sin. Cyprian observes, that man was in slavery before Christ. Nazianzen says, that the whole man required re-creating, and anathematizes those who make Christ perfected after baptism by works. Basil says, that Christ died by his passion to redeem us from our passions. Nyssen alludes to the filthiness of our nature. Atticus says, that Christ died to put death to death; and Amphilochius, that adoption came not by man's merit, but by Christ's.

<sup>p</sup> Ephes. ap. H. i. p. 1455. 1466. a. 1507. e. 1554. b. 1565. c. 1576. Cyr. *ad Success.* i. p. 136. ii. p. 150. &c. Leont. *de Sectis.* B. P. xi. p. 509. shews the reason of this accusation to

have been because all opposers of error appear to those in error to hold the opposite. These places are noticed here, as we may have occasion to refer again to them in chap. ix.

Such a suitableness in the quotations<sup>1</sup> to both heresies throws light upon the passage of Photius, cited in the last chapter.

11. There is another kind of historical evidence which is not to be left unnoticed. It is this: the friendship of Julian with Theodore makes it credible that they had no ordinary agreement in doctrine: the passages already quoted prove this. A party then, which was very anxious for the diffusion of Theodore's writings, would be pretty sure to be the enemies of the doctrine of original sin. Later Nestorians, we know, threw Nestorius overboard<sup>2</sup>: possibly because he did not go far enough on this point. But Theodore's writings they translated into Syriac or Chaldee, Persian, and Armenian<sup>3</sup>, and diffused them every where, through the medium of the school of Edessa. For the Armenians, who then used a Syrian alphabet, and the Persians, to whom Edessa was as a university<sup>4</sup>, easily by this means became impregnated with the poison of Theodorus. The books of this heretic were moreover regarded by the Nestorians as authoritative<sup>5</sup>; and he who should open his lips against him, would be regarded by them as a heretic. So little was there in the master of Pelagius, to offend the mind of a Nestorian.

<sup>1</sup> Hard. i. p. 1400, &c. The use of some of these passages here made may be disputed by others. But the general thing intended is clear enough, and not (it seems to the author) disputable by any fair mind. This observation may be applied to the whole chapter also, to prevent captious objections to the whole thing being drawn from isolated mistakes, if there

be any.

<sup>2</sup> Leont. ap. Canis i. p. 576.

<sup>3</sup> See Liberatus Brev. cap. 10. Hard. iii. p. 100, b. p. 120, a. Leont. ap. Canis. p. 578. xxi. Mai Coll. Nov. i. p. xxi. Assem. B. O. vol. iii. p. 30. Neuman Gesch. der Arm. Literat. cap. 1. Hoffman Gr. Syr. p. 25.

<sup>4</sup> Assem. B. O. iv. p. 69. 926.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. note o. p. 79.

12. There is also a species of evidence, which tends to prove the similarity of the two heresies, that may be considered to hold a middle place between the evidence offered in the last chapter and in this. It is the evidence which may be drawn from resemblance of thought in the commentaries left us by Pelagius and Mopsuestene upon the same parts of Scripture. Possibly too somewhat of the same kind might be elicited from a close comparison of the commentaries of Cyril, and those of the heresiarch, upon the Minor Prophets. But either of these, to be done satisfactorily, would require discussions upon every separate comparison too long for the present work. Add to this, that the extracts from Mopsuestene upon the Epistles of St. Paul are chiefly drawn from Catenas, which were not likely to produce the worst passages. Hence in those we have, the heresy of the author is in most instances put in the most disguised manner, and so is not exhibited in a way to be useful here. Suffice it to intimate the possibility of such a mode of corroborating what has already been adduced to shew, that the denier of the hypostatic union was an attached friend of the advocates of human merit.

## CHAP. V.

ON THE PRACTICAL TENDENCIES OF NESTORIANIZING CHRISTIANS  
TOWARDS PELAGIAN PRINCIPLES.

1. IF Nestorianism is thus doctrinally and historically connected with Pelagianism, it may be expected that those who are the followers of the former, will shew some sort of tendency towards the latter. Tendencies may exist even where they never have hitherto become effect: a man need not be thought uncharitably to have accused another of robbery, because he warns him against covetousness; or of murder, because he puts him on his guard against fierce anger; or of indulging unlawful passions, because he reminds him that idleness and effeminacy tend towards the production of such sins. If then any of my non-catholic readers should feel themselves ever so guiltless of any sympathy for Nestorianism, let them not think me uncharitable, if I point out things which yet may tend towards it. But if there are those, who, without any real information whatever upon the subject, are continually avowing, that it is a mere idle question of words, whether Christ is one person or two persons; let them not be angry if those, who are convinced that the question is not one of words, gaze hard upon them, to see if they can observe any other Pelagian tendencies in them. If Christ is two persons, 'human merit' is possible: if a man says he does not care whether he is two persons or not, he may be looked

upon as a Nestorianizing Christian, and one who will therefore in his principles and practices probably betray himself to be a covert Pelagian. Harsh as this may sound I fear, and alarming as I hope it may sound, it is really the least uncharitable way of putting the matter. For much might be said of a severer kind: it might be urged, that confident assertions about the Lord God Almighty when made flesh were highly unbecoming in such a vile worm as man is, unless he admits the existence of an infallible guide to teach him in the Church: that even then to say this or that was an idle question of words, would be in an unlearned man an intolerably presumptuous way of judging saints and doctors: that the perturbations of our own mind, arising from a treasury of actual sins, ought, if even ignorance were away, and faith in the Church were strong, to make us diffident in speaking of so august a subject. We are not as pure, nor as learned in mysteries, nor as full of faith, as the beloved disciple, who, when he saw the Son of Man, fell at his feet as dead.

2. The business of this chapter then shall be to shew, that in spite of strong disclaimers of Pelagianism, there may be actual tendencies towards it. In order to shew this, certain points, in which professed Nestorians and parties in this country are at one, must be animadverted upon. And to prevent mistakes it may be premised, that it is Nestorian practice, and not Nestorian professions, with which we are concerned. Their professions may be Catholic enough, and often form a useful proof of the antiquity of many Catholic doctrines and practices, because they shew that these subsisted in the Church at the time the Nestorians left it. This kind of proof rests, however, more upon the profession, than the practice

of Nestorians, if they revered books which contained them merely as curious documents, and had given up altogether following them out in practice, this proof would remain intact. Thus no one could doubt, that the Catholic communion practised fasting, at the time when the Anglican prayer-book was made, although it had afterwards passed in practice into utter desuetude. This proof then will remain where it was: what is attempted is to shew, that two parties of Nestorianizing Christians, entirely distinct from each other, evince a similar want of dread for Pelagianism. But it was useful just to have mentioned that proof here, as for other reasons so for this, to remind the reader, that the desire to establish it has made this attempt less easy than it otherwise might have been. Our writers being always upon the look out for points of resemblance, have set more store by professions and antiquarian formularies, than by the practice of existing Nestorians. Hence this attempt is impeded for want of data, and wears an invidious appearance, because it seems at first sight to shake a popular argument for Catholicism. But to proceed to what can be said.

3. Nestorians as well as Anglicans have abandoned the practice of confession, and that celibacy\* of the clergy which is necessary in order to maintain it. Now here is a symptom of dislike of restraint in both parties, and of a consequent belief, implied or engendered by it, that human nature is good enough to be able to disengage itself from such restraint, and yet be as free from worldliness and imperfections, nay, more free than before. It is pretended, indeed, that the evils arising from the enforcement of these two points of discipline are so great, as far to out-

\* Asseman. B. O. iv. p. 288.

balance the good. But every body can find an argument for what he likes: every body can, if he pleases, deceive himself with such arguments, and repeat them till he believes them: few perhaps, conscientiously and after reflection, ever believed that it was a rational conviction, and not a desire for companionship in unrestraint, that made them see so keenly that the balance of evil was on the side of confession and celibacy.

4. But as the former of these so obviously depends, both in theory and in practice, upon the latter, it will be useful, so far as it may conveniently be done, to examine some of the arguments used against celibacy of the clergy, and endeavour to trace them up to those Pelagian principles upon which they are founded, in which, if the expression may be allowed, they live and move and have their being. Now the arguments, it is believed, are in substance pretty much the following: 'that the state of celibacy is recommended in Scripture, not for any intrinsic excellence of its own, but because it was a state which suited well with the times of persecution, but that now we are at peace with the world, and therefore the desirableness of celibacy had ceased: that if there were any such superiority attaching to the state as such, still it would be a theoretical and not a practical good; that it is wrong for man to seek to "wind himself too high," or to live under the persecution of temptations which he cannot overcome: that in all ordinary cases, the married state is the state of perfection for human nature, rather of the two, and contains certainly nothing tending towards the diminution of intellectual and moral vigor: that the example of our Saviour in a matter of this nature would be as absurdly urged, as his

example in walking on the sea; in fact, that he is more likely to rebuke Peter for attempting it, than to reach out his divine hand and infuse strength into him, to enable him to succeed.'

5. If we turn to question the grounds of these arguments, we shall find them to be based upon some such principles as the following: that Almighty God has created man with certain strong passions, which belonged to our nature, as it was originally created, and did not come into it through the fall. Hence, as God has created us with reason and conscience also, vehement antagonists, to be sure, of these passions; it behoved him to place us in a sphere in which they could be lawfully exercised; and it behoves us to rescue ourselves from danger, by putting ourselves into that sphere. And though it is not very obvious, how indulgence even of lawful passions is calculated to diminish them, and increase the power of their antagonists' reason and conscience, it is thought quite certain, that where a lawful scope is not found for them, an unlawful one must be. That there may be a lawless excess in lawful things is quite forgotten. In furtherance of these principles, it is sometimes contended, that the distinction which Catholics make between counsels of perfection binding on certain states only, and duties of obligation binding on all Christians, is an untrue and unwarranted distinction. Thus they see no need of the clergy practising one of the counsels of perfection, the very existence of which counsels they altogether ignore. That argument for Christianity which the holy Fathers drew from the fact, that multitudes both of men and women followed Christ's counsel and example herein, is incapable of touching them. They speak as if they disbelieved the power



of grace to cast out nature, forgetting that they cut themselves off from the true Sacraments, and are not under the healing shadow of that august Sacrifice, which, while it makes it becoming for man to abstain from pleasures which may be innocent, also infuses into him the power to do so. Pelagius indeed <sup>b</sup> denied as well as these the distinction between counsels and duties, but he endeavoured in his pride to make out that all counsels were duties, and that no man can be saved who does not sell all that he has. His unpopular doctrine is based on the belief of man's own strength; the former and popular denial of the distinction here mentioned, is based in the denial of God's power to make some men able to 'receive this saying.'

6. But these principles are certainly in diametrical opposition to those with which St. Augustine combated the Pelagians. He boldly denies the cornerstone of this whole fabric; he denies that God did, in matter of fact, create us with those strong passions<sup>c</sup>, and every where regards them as the work of the devil, when he persuaded man to rebel. He is unable to conceive that passions, which always throughout life are antagonists of reason, were the original creation of a merciful God, and as he rejected the Manichean theory which furnished a pair of conflicting creators, so he rejected the idea that God had made man with two opposite principles, tending to the destruction of each other<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> Garnier ad M. i. p. 267. Pelagius himself, ad Demetr. cap. 9, 10. seems to have at first allowed the distinction.

<sup>c</sup> Vide Noris Vind. August. cap. iii. §. 2. Garn. l. c. i. p. 413. Respondit Augustinus . . . in-

veniri in hoc opere Dei peccatum propter libidinem seu concupiscentiam quæ a Deo non est, sed a diabolo peccati auctore.

<sup>d</sup> See Op. Imp. iv. 19, &c. Pertinet ad naturam pecoris, ad

Many and many a time does he urge that concupiscence is not of the Father<sup>e</sup>: never does he allow that the energy of it, in any persons whatever, for any other purpose than that of bringing children to the fount of Baptism<sup>f</sup>, is clear from all sin. Again and again did he exhort even married persons, in Lent<sup>g</sup> at least, to shew that the grace of Almighty God could work in them for a time that continence, which he gave to the celibate perhaps for an entire life. "If (he says) it be a good thing not to covet things unlawful, that assuredly must be an evil whereby things unlawful are coveted<sup>h</sup>." So intimately

pœnam vero hominis. Ibid. §. 41. See Petav. de Opif. Sex dier. ii. 8. §. 3.

\* See c. Jul. Pel. iv. 20—69. Serm. 151. §. 5. Concupiscentia cum quâ nati sumus, finiri non potest quamdiu vivimus: quotidie minui potest, finiri non potest.

<sup>f</sup> See de Pecc. Orig. §. 43. de Nupt. et Conc. i. §. 16. 27. c. Jul. Pel. ii. §. 20. 30. 43. iv. §. 6. §. 7. §. 33. §. 71. v. §. 40. Op. imp. i. §. 68. 70. ii. §. 97. iv. §. 89. v. §. 13. Serm. ix. 18. li. 22—3. Op. imp. iv. §. 29. Facit conjugatus boni aliquid et per ipsum (motum carnis) si nihil faciat propter ipsum: si autem faciat aliquid, sed tamen in conjuge, propter ipsum, non ei veniam daret gratia nuptiarum, si non agnosceret esse peccatum, &c.

<sup>g</sup> Serm. ccv. §. 2. ccvii. §. 2. ccviii. §. 1. ccix. §. 3. ccx. §. 9.

<sup>h</sup> Op. imp. ii. 57. De concubitu gignitur proles trahens originale peccatum *vicio propagante vitium*, Deo creante na-

turam. See also c. Faust. Manich. xiv. 5. xxx. 5. 6. de Gen. ad lit. x. §. 32. de Trinit. xiii. §. 16. 21. 23. de Pecc. mer. &c. i. §. 57. de Pecc. Orig. §. 38. de Nupt. et Conc. i. §. 27. ii. §. 20. 45. c. Jul. Pel. ii. §. 32. iii. §. 39. iv. §. 6. 7. 33. 34. v. §. 40. 51. 63. Op. imp. i. 70. ii. 123. 218. iv. 83. v. 17. vi. 9. Epist. 194. §. 44. Fulgent. de Ver. Præd. i. §. 5. 7. 10. Epist. xvii. §. 26. Leo, Serm. xc. 1. Habet hoc in se vitium humana natura, non a Creatore insitum sed a prævaricatione contractum et in posteros generandi lege transfusum, ut de corruptibili corpore etiam quod animam corrumpere possit, oriatur. Greg. Magn. Epist. ix. 52. §. 9. xi. 64. ad x. Paulin. c. Fel. i. 44. See Card. Noris. l. c. p. 990. 1015. 1213. 1423. Garn. ad Merc. i. p. 43—4. Bellarm. de Amiss. Grat. iv. cap. 12. p. 127. Le Quien ad Dam. i. p. 200. not. i. Trombelli de Beata, pt. 1. diss. 3. cap. 11. Bolgeni dello Stato dei Bamb. pt. ii. p. 127—38. From these

connected with sin did he hold this concupiscence to be, that he, Prosper, Fulgentius, Bede, and all who follow him, regard it as the conductor through which that original sin, which has spread itself all over the whole of Adam's race, is propagated; they hold it to be the immediate cause whereby so subtle and penetrating a poison is conveyed through the body of man to that soul which is part of each man's person, or rather to that person which without the body in no single case comes into being. As though matter by a kind of diabolical sacramentality had become the instrument which made every new soul created the liege subject of Satan! nay, his slave sold under sin, and in bondage to corruption! By the fall man lost that supernatural gift of the Spirit<sup>i</sup>, which, while it enabled him on the one hand to obey

it will appear, that there is some discrepancy in the sense put upon St. Austin's words. But it is quite plain from any view whatever which can be taken of them, that he thought concupiscence far too intimately blended with the derivation of sin from man to man, not to require a most rigid limitation. And this is enough for our purpose.

<sup>i</sup> Garn. ad. M. i. p. 44. *Peccatum igitur originale, cum sit defectus justitiæ originalis, quemadmodum definivit S. Thomas, duabus oportet constare partibus, unâ materiali, quæ concupiscentiæ effrænitās; alterâ formali, quæ caritatis privatio. Illam vocat Augustinus vitium, morbum, languorem et malum naturæ: istam peccatum et culpam: culpa sacramenti virtute tollitur, vitium relinquitur ad agonem: etsi*

*vel peccando crescit, vel bene agendo minuitur quanto magis aut peccandi consuetudine creatura, aut Deus bene vivendo dulcescit. Quemadmodum ambæ partes justitiæ originalis ita connectebantur mutuo, ut fuerint olim in Adamo innocente, futuræque essent in posteris innocentibus unicum beneficium; ita utriusque partis vacuitas, ut fuit unicum in Adamo peccante damnum, ita sunt unicum in posteros malum, donec renascuntur in Christo, et novi homines fiant. See also p. 358. 396. Bolgeni sullo Stato dei Bambini, p. 81. Nium Catholico theologo nega presentamentè l'esistenza del peccato originale; niuno nega che la sregolatezza della concupiscenza, le miserie, e la morte in questa vita, e la damnazione eterna nell'altra, sono conseguenza del peccato originale.*

God, enabled him upon the other to rule his own passions, and to keep them, in the very midst of the actual use of them, in rigid submission to that reason which they now suspend while they energize<sup>k</sup>. At that time the image of God, as it were, ceases to be in man for the time, and the child which is born ceases to obtain the likeness of God originally intended for it, and copies the jarred and shaken and disordered image of its parents, such as they were, while they ministered to the creator of that substance with which he was wroth. ‘Nothing contrary to himself,’ says Pope Agatho<sup>l</sup>, ‘did the Maker of all things create, or by the Incarnation take.’ And in this view St. Austin again and again asserts, that Christ avoided<sup>m</sup> that way of being born into the world, with which sin was so intimately bound up.

7. Now without asserting that every particular portion of this doctrine is *de fide*, i. e. is part of the faith necessary to be believed, I do say, that the great antipelagian doctor certainly was far otherwise minded than those who contend against celibacy and confession here or elsewhere. Whether or no he thought God *could* have created man with that concupiscence he now has, I shall not discuss: but this is certain,

<sup>k</sup> Arist. Eth. Nic. vii. 12. οὐδένα γὰρ ἂν δύνασθαι νοῦσαι τι ἐν αὐτῇ (ἐν τῇ τῶν ἀφροδ. ἡδονῇ).

<sup>l</sup> Agatho ap. Hard. Conc. iii. p. 1090. a. Nihil sibi contrarium Creator omnium condidit vel per mysterium incarnationis assumpsit.

<sup>m</sup> Op. imp. ii. 56. Per unum hominem peccatum intravit in mundum quia per semen generationis intravit quod a viro excipiens concepit fœmina, quo more nasci noluit qui solus

sine peccato est natus ex fœminâ. ib. 218. iv. 45—60. 89. vi. 35. de Trin. l. c. de Pec. m. &c. i. §. 57. ii. §. 38. de P. Orig. §. 45. de N. and C. ii. §. 15. Ep. 164. §. 19. 187. §. 31. Sermon. 151. §. 5. 153. §. 14. 165. §. 9. (Comp. Cyril Dial. p. 724. a. Maxim. ii. p. 130—1.) His notion seems to be, that God did not choose in his own case to suspend, even by a miracle, its natural course.

that he held it to be no part of the original nature which God actually gave to Adam, but a curse and an ineradicable<sup>a</sup> evil introduced into it by the devil, which grace could tame, but glory only destroy, from which he exempted none of the Saints, but only Jesus and Mary<sup>o</sup>. If then any person refuses to submit to the decisions of the Church of this day upon these matters, and thinks he can make a faith out of the Fathers for himself, let him consider how the arguments and principles by which he combats celibacy, will accord with the arguments and principles where-with St. Austin combats Pelagianism. If, on the other hand, his principles naturally harmonize with Pelagian principles, then what this chapter is contending for, is thus far established, viz. that Nestorianizing Christians naturally verge towards the heresy Nestorius favoured. Now Pelagians insisted upon it that God had made man with strong passions, and with that concupiscence of the flesh amongst them which they loved to call natural: they consistently maintained, that Christ was interiorly tempted like as we are, because they denied that sin had *de facto* introduced that concupiscence. This concupiscence they asserted to be no evil in itself<sup>q</sup>, but only in the excess of it. Hence in some cases they allowed the use of it even to monks and nuns who had forsworn it<sup>r</sup>, and are said themselves to

<sup>a</sup> See below, pt. iii. cap. 4.

<sup>o</sup> Op. imp. iv. 53. Carnis concupiscentiam hoc est libidinem, quam libentius vocas concupiscentiam naturalem. comp. 24. 25. v. 5. 6. &c. Noris. Vind. vol. i. p. 908.

<sup>p</sup> See above, p. 38. note e.

<sup>q</sup> Julian, ap. Aug. Op. imp. iv. 24. 25. Concupiscentiæ natura-

lis non, genus non speciem, non modum, sed excessum tantum in culpam venire.

<sup>r</sup> Gelasius ap. Hard. ii. p. 892. a. says of Seneca the Pelagian, Leges dedit libenter exceptas ut servi Dei cum puellis sacris congregatione dedecorissimâ miscerentur.

have allowed it a scope for those excesses, towards which they denied it had a tendency\*. Here again are a set of principles, some of which might possibly have a sort of harmless sense put upon them, but take the whole run of them, and they accord as well with the rejection of celibacy as St. Austin's principles discord with it. "The energy of concupiscence," says an acute observer, "will increase the stock we have by birth, and if these energies be great and violent, they drive out the power of reasoning, and so they have need to be moderate and few, and in no respect opposing the reason†." Let him who finds they do not in himself oppose the reason in any respect, be the first to throw a stone at that celibacy which assumes their perpetual tendency to do so, and withholds even the most innocent of them from those who are to offer on the altar him who said, "*Qui mihi ministrat, me sequatur.*"

8. What the doctrine practically and actually held by the Nestorians, concerning the Real Presence and the Sacrifice of the Eucharist was, may not be easy to determine. But as they deny Transubstantiation‡, according to some at the present day, it is impossible that they should believe either the Real Presence, or the Sacrifice of him who is really present, in any true sense. As imputed righteousness is to inherent justice, so is a real presence without Transubstantiation, to the real presence

\* Julian's personal character, according to Mercator, i. p. 39, 40. was stained with incest.

† Arist. E. N. ii. v. fin.

‡ So Mr. Layard asserts, vol. i. chap. viii. p. 264. and it seems from Assem. B. O. iv. p. 294.

that as they placed the consecration in the invocation of the Holy Spirit, so in some instances they considered that the Spirit united the bread to Christ spiritually, morally, or not really.

with it: either is an unreality not inconsistent with reason only, but with faith also. In ancient days it is certain, that St. Cyril\* urged against the Nestorian doctrine, that it made communion a mere refined cannibalism, because it made people partake of a human creature and not of the Creator: it held some such doctrine as we should hold, if we made Christians to partake of the Blessed Virgin's flesh, which of course we do not. And that this objection of the great doctor of the Incarnation to the Nestorian system was not a tendency which was never realized, may be learnt from an acute convert from Nestorianism, Leontius of Byzantium. He informs us, that they craftily brought their doctrine by degrees before him: that after a while they informed him, that "the bread which was offered *as a type* of Christ's body, does not impart greater blessing than what is sold in the market, or the loaves that the Mary-lovers offer in the name of Mary'." And the Nestorian in John Maxentius' Dialogue says, "If it is the body of God and not of the man he assumed, why is it not said, 'Except you eat the flesh of God, but, the flesh of the Son of man, you have no life in you?'" To which the Catholic replies, "Although it be the flesh of the Son of man, yet the Son of man's flesh itself is the flesh of God: for if it be not the flesh of God, how can it give eternal life to them that believe?" And elsewhere the Nestorian illustrates any affront offered to the body of Christ by the affront offered to a man,

\* C. Nest. iv. p. 108. d. Expl. xii. cap. p. 156. c. p. 193. d. Comp. Garn. ad M. ii. p. 380. Assem. B. O. iv. p. 209.

† Leont. ap. Canis. i. p. 577. vi. Comp. Basnage, Præf. ibid. §. 21. and Garn. l. c.

\* J. Max. in B. P. iv. pt. i. p. 477. c. and p. 481. c.

by tearing his garment. And Rabulas tells us of Nestorius himself, that he pronounced "the flesh of the Lord to profit nothing;" therein perverting the expression of Christ, "the flesh profiteth nothing<sup>a</sup>." Now in all this there is a great similarity to the opinions of Protestants, viewed as a body. Whereas the Catholic doctrine, that Christ has committed to Presbyters the power of making bread and wine to be changed into the substance of his Body and Blood, leads at once to several antipelagian conclusions. The weakness of man, who required so great and wondrous a food, is implied distinctly by it: the reasonableness of expecting celibacy from those who are to offer so great a sacrifice, immediately appears: the very notion of grace is kept before the mind of a Catholic, in a way in which out of the Church it never was nor can be.

9. Upon this last point one or two observations deserve to be made. The Catholic Church, then, as in ancient times, so now, abounds in prayers for others: there are confraternities, guilds, and associations for the conversion of sinners and of unbelievers. "When," says St. Austin, "was the time when people in the Church did not pray for infidels and her enemies, that they might believe? When was there any believer who had a friend, a relation, or a wife an unbeliever, and did not ask of the Lord for such a one a mind obedient to the faith of Christ<sup>b</sup>?" And again; "What grace brings about is, that what nature cannot do when corrupted, it may be able when healed to do, through him who came to seek

<sup>a</sup> Ep. ad Cyril, Hard. iii. Sanct. §. 22. Epist. 177. §. 4. p. 103. 215. §. 3. Serm. 168. §. 8.

<sup>b</sup> De Dono P. §. 63. see also &c. &c.  
cont. Jul. iv. §. 16. de Præd.



and to save that which is lost. For which grace, however, even then [in controverting Manicheism] through recollecting it, I prayed for my most intimate friends who still held to that deadly error, saying, "Mighty God, God omnipotent, God of supreme goodness, whom we must believe to be unalterable and incorruptible, Threefold Unity, which the Catholic Church worships, I earnestly beseech you, as I have in myself experienced your mercy, not to allow those men with whom from my boyish days, be together as much as we might, I had always agreed, now to disagree with me in the worship of yourself<sup>c</sup>." And St. Basil, "in a prayer *of the holy altar*, which almost the whole of the East is in the habit of using, says, among other things, Give, Lord, strength and protection, make the bad good, keep those that are good in goodness, for you can do all things, and there is none that gainsayeth you, for when you wish, you save, and none resists your will." "But we do not pray for infidels, that their nature may be made, that is, that they may be made men, or that doctrine may be preached to them, which they hear to their hurt, if they do not believe: but we generally pray for those who, when they do read and hear, are unwilling to believe, but we pray that their will may be set right, that they may assent to doctrine, that their nature may be healed<sup>e</sup>." This describes the state of things in the Church now-a-days: perhaps no convert whatever ever came into the Church, without finding that prayers had been offered for his own particular conversion. This, as St. Austin so often urges, shews that we believe, that God gives the beginning and the end, is the

<sup>c</sup> Retr. i. 15. §. 8.

<sup>e</sup> Aug. Epist. 217. §. 13.

<sup>d</sup> Ap. Petr. ad Fulgent. p. 283.

author and finisher of our faith, whereas those who have no faith, do not abound in intercessory prayer for others, nor do apostate priests owe their conversion to prayers for themselves in particular, but to a hatred of discipline.

10. This is a fact, and the ordinary way of accounting for it is, that those who have not the faith, have nothing to draw people to: therefore they do not beg of God to bring back even those that have left them, because they have a kind of guilty consciousness that those, who have once tasted of the heavenly gift of faith, would never be at rest with a confused mass of uncertainties to taste, eat, or reject, as they please. But to say this, is not to point out what particular object of faith leads Catholics to the particular plan of praying to God to give others the grace of conversion. Pelagius thought the heart could convert itself, if it would: Catholics ask God to do it, when it will not. Now a belief in the Real Presence seems to explain this practice. Through this Catholics have not only something to convert men to, but Some One to convert them to it. Those who know they have the Physician with them and among them, naturally go to him, and beg him to cure the diseased will. Our Lord Jesus Christ is with us, and is the Sun of all intercession. There is no Catholic also, who would not prefer to have the Mass offered for one he wished to convert, to any number of prayers. If he goes to Mass to pray for them, why is it, but because he knows that that Mediatorial flesh is there, out of which virtue must needs go? For nine long years St. Monica prayed for her son, and no single day did she omit to go to the oblation of the altar<sup>f</sup>. Here is an instance of a

<sup>f</sup> Aug. Confess. vi. §. 17.

Catholic, who believed that God the Son took flesh to be a source of grace to us: who believed that that flesh is present on the altar: who went accordingly to it, as the source of salvation, and asked for those graces to flow from it, which come from it only. Bring me Nestorians, bring me Protestants, bring me Pelagians, who have any thing so 'very nigh' to them to shew to their inmost heart, that the flesh of Almighty God, and not mere human merit, is the source of all our salvation, and the beginning of all our grace<sup>a</sup>.

11. As the doctrine of Nestorians and Protestants then deprives them of one of the strongest and most touching proofs, that the whole Person of Jesus Christ is the only source of grace, so their practice in regard to Baptism likewise wrests from them both a proof of the doctrine of original sin. The Catholic rite for Baptism in every part of the world contains exorcisms, previous to the administration of Baptism itself. The Nestorians have them in their old rituals, but in practice have dropped them<sup>b</sup>: the Protestants have not in this country the slightest vestige of them remaining. If I drop one after another all those external acts of politeness, which symbolize good-will towards a person, he would argue not unreasonably that my good-will was gone. If Nestorians and Protestants (like Ananias and Sapphira) agree together to drop those expressions of a truth which the Holy Ghost inspired into the whole Church as a mode of expressing a certain doctrine, how can I believe that they firmly hold the doctrine which

<sup>a</sup> The author has much pleasure in quoting here the words of a high dignitary in a note to himself, upon the occasion of his ordination: "I wish you

many years not merely of happiness, but of grace, the *key* of which your Mother has now put into your hand."

<sup>b</sup> Assem. l. c. p. 256.

Pelagius hated? "Infants (says Julian) we consecrate by the law of Baptism, that God may make those whom he has made good, by renewing and adopting them, better<sup>i</sup>." The Pelagians allowed that Baptism improved the condition of infants, but not that it was necessary for them in order that they might be saved from the evils which original sin brought upon them. To answer this, Augustine has over and over again recourse to these very exorcisms, to shew that before Baptism the Church regarded them as under the power of the devil, and children of wrath, through original sin. "They do not like," says St. Austin, "that infants should be baptized for the remission of sins, as if remission of sins took place in them, who, as they contend, have no sin; but say that they, although without sin, are yet baptized in that Baptism, by which remission takes place in any that are sinners." "It is possible," he proceeds, "that those who have leisure, might refute this slippery craftiness in some more subtle and acute manner. However, with all their slyness they do not find any answer to the fact, that infants are exorcised and exsufflated: for without doubt it is deceiving people to do this, if the devil does not rule in these. But if he does rule, and that is why there is no deceiving in exorcising and exsufflating them, by what does he rule, except it be by that sin which is the origin of all sins<sup>k</sup>." Long before this, St. Austin

<sup>i</sup> ap. Aug. Op. Imp. vi. 36. p. 1005, e. Joan. Maxent. l. c. p. 440. Recentes ab utero parvulos non tantum ut adoptionem mereantur filiorum, aut propter regnum cœlorum sicut Pelagii et Cœlestii sive Theodori Mops. discipuli aiunt qui unum et idem esse naturale (?)

et originale peccatum affirmare conantur; sed in remissionem peccatorum eos credimus baptizari. This was suggested to them by Ruffinus. see Garn. l. c. i. p. 303. p. 329. p. 408—10.

<sup>k</sup> Epist. 194. §. 46. See de Pecc. Mer. et Rem. i. §. 62. de

had viewed these exorcisms in a similar light, when he objected to the rebaptizing practised by the Donatists, that they exorcised Christ<sup>1</sup>. And so these exorcisms which Nestorianizing Christians drop, are a witness in favour of the doctrine of original sin, and those who do not care to have the witness, do not look as if they believed the doctrine very firmly.

12. There is another point of discipline which was of old in force, and which was sometimes urged by St. Austin, in proof of the need of baptism for infants. It was the custom formerly in every part of the world to give the holy Communion to babes after their baptism<sup>m</sup>. This was done by dipping somewhat into the sacred Blood, and putting it into the infant's mouth. This custom is now discontinued in the West, God having permitted it perhaps for a time, that all men might know, that communion under one species was enough. The argument drawn from it against Pelagianism will be evident from the following passages. Innocent the First says, in a letter to the Council of Milevi: "To preach that infants can have the blessings of eternal life given them without the grace of baptism is very foolish. For unless they have eaten the flesh of the Son of man and drunk his blood, they will not have eternal life in them<sup>n</sup>." Of this, St. Austin says, those who teach otherwise, speak "against the authority of the Apostolic See, where when this matter was treated

Pecc. Orig. §. 45. de Nupt. et Conc. l. 22. ii. 33. 50. 51. c. Jul. Pel. iii. 8. 9. 11. vi. 11. Op. imperf. i. 50. 57. 60. 117. ii. 120. 181. iii. 142. 144. 146. 182. 199. iv. 77. 120. v. 9. et fin. vi. 23. Ep. 194. 43. in Psalm lxx. §. 17.

<sup>1</sup> See Epist. 105. §. 7. 43. §. 21. 24. 51. §. 4. 52. §. 3.

108. §. 3. 185. §. 8.

<sup>m</sup> See Salvagio, Antiq. Christian. lib. iii. cap. 9. §. 5. Assem. ad Act. Mart. ii. 147. n. 6. Garn. l. c. i. p. 57. p. 79. and Trombell. de Baptism. xvi. cap. 1.

<sup>n</sup> Innoc. inter. Ep. August. 182. §. 5.

of, this text of [St. John's] Gospel was quoted to shew, that infants not baptized were not believed to be capable of having eternal life<sup>o</sup>." "You give them a place of salvation and eternal life outside the kingdom of God, even if they are not baptized . . . and you do not bethink yourselves that they cannot have life who are without the Body and Blood of Christ, when he himself says, "Except you have eaten, &c." and when Christ says this, "how should I say that an infant will have life who finished this life without that Sacrament<sup>p</sup>?"

13. All this has the appearance of saying, that without communion as well as baptism infants could not be saved. But what is really meant to be said by it is, that the existing practice of the Church to communicate infants, shewed indirectly her sense of the absolute need of baptism. For as the communion could not be had without baptism, to assert that communion was necessary, was to assert that baptism was necessary. But whether communion with the Body and Blood of Christ could only be obtained by those incapable of examining themselves, and so incapable of committing actual sin, solely by the way of the Eucharistic sacrifice, is a question which this argument leaves untouched. "The body of the regenerate," says St. Leo, "becomes the flesh of the crucified," and his master, St. Austin, in another place, expresses the same doctrine<sup>q</sup>. What the rite is noticed here for is, in part, to shew that arguments drawn from the rites of the Church are available, even though those rites be not necessary to salvation. But it serves

<sup>o</sup> Aug. Epist. 186. 28.

<sup>p</sup> Ad Bonif. c. 2. Ep. Pelag.

i. §. 40. c. Jul. Pel. iii. §. 4.

<sup>q</sup> Leo. Sermon. lxiii. §. 6. Epist.

lix. §. 4. Aug. Op. imp. iii. §. 38.

Bened. ad lib. i. de Pecc. Mer.

§. 27. Belgeni. l. c. p. 147.

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also to shew, that the ancient Church did not patronize the Nestorian and Protestant doctrine of the necessity of receiving under both species. Had this been necessary, the argument against the Pelagians, drawn from the communion of infants who could not receive under both species, would have been good for nothing. Both parties then would have so far helped the Pelagians: they would have taken away from Catholics one argument at least, and that too an argument which tends greatly to establish the true doctrine of the Real Presence of Christ, the foundation and source of grace.

14. In doctrine then, in history, and in tendencies, it has been shewn, how Nestorianizing Christians side with Pelagianism. Again, let the reader be reminded, that tendencies are tendencies even if they do not seem likely to become effect. He who cordially hates the doctrine of human merit will hate what *may* lead to it, and relish what will lead from it. All that makes him feel and see that God Almighty took flesh to be a fountain of grace and light to us sinners, he will hail and love. All things that hold up to him clearly the belief in original sin, even though he does not himself practise them, he will regard as forcing him to look to that fountain. He will love that Sacrifice which Christ did not offer for himself but for us. The parent of both heresies said, "I do not envy Christ made God, because if I please I can become so too<sup>\*</sup>." It needs an archangel's patience to keep one from bringing railing accusation upon hearing such satanic language. And O that I could feel or inspire an archangel's hate for him who

\* Above, p. 70. n. b. This was often urged against Ibas, as if to say so was a kind of symbol of Nestorianizing, in the Council of Chalcedon, H. ii. p. 510. b. p. 522. c. p. 531. e. iii. p. 228. d. p. 228. c.

inspired this and any kindred heresy, which would lead us to think Christ was not God the instant he was conceived in Mary's womb, full from the first both of grace and of truth !



## CHAP. VI.

## OF THE CATHOLIC DOCTRINE OF PREDESTINATION.

1. It has been said above<sup>a</sup>, that in treating of the doctrine of grace and predestination, the holy Fathers paved the way for the present belief in the blessed Virgin's privileges. The discussion of the subject of predestination, leads to the discussion of the predestination of Christ to be the Son of God, and this not unnaturally leads us to consider, in what respects his Mother was predestined to be like him. Those passages from the book of Wisdom, which have been applied to her in the Missal and office book by the Church, are unintelligible without reference to divine predestination. Further, as predestination is the cause of all grace in Christ and in the saints, it seems desirable to say what needs to be said about it here, and not elsewhere.

2. Now as there are some persons who shrink from the very mention of predestination, it will be desirable first of all to say somewhat calculated to shew, that the evils they anticipate do not result, from turning the mind towards it. As there are many persons in this country who suppose, that grace and predestination are things about which the Catholic Church has no concern, it is right to endeavour to shew these briefly, what she holds and what she rejects. As there are others who disrelish the subject, not from any feeble-mindedness or

<sup>a</sup> Chap. i. §. 9.

timidity, but simply because they know what a variety of opinions have existed upon points connected with it, where the Church has not given any decision: it is desirable to shew, that the discussion of disputed points is not requisite for the purposes of this work.

3. In regard to the first party mentioned, three things may be useful to point out; viz. that predestination is a part of revealed doctrine, that it is liable to the same sort of difficulties as other revealed doctrine, and also that the practical evils which they suppose will result from considering the subject at all, cannot be fairly deduced from it. Now it is quite clear, that what God reveals, he reveals for some good end; he must mean that *some* people should reflect upon whatever his revelation contains, be it easy or be it hard to do so. The first question therefore should be, not is it a safe subject to consider, but is it revealed: then may fairly come the question, is it a safe subject for any particular person to meditate upon. To lead ill-informed minds, and those incapable of following out a train of thought to such a subject, would indeed be in most cases imprudent: but for educated people it is not self-evident why the subject should be forbidden them, and a great deal of harm is sometimes done by their ignorance, that it is a part of revelation. "Whoever denies predestination," says Fulgentius<sup>b</sup>, "ought first to blot it out of the writings of the Apostles." And Hadrian the First, in a letter to the Bishops of Spain, adopting the language of this keen disciple of Augustine, has the following words<sup>c</sup>: "Let the reality of

<sup>b</sup> Fulgent. de verit. Præd. 567. Whence this is taken I et Grat. iii. §. 12. do not know, but I have not

<sup>c</sup> Ap. Benedict. ad finem access to Coustant's Epist. Aug. de Dono Pers. vol. x. p. Paparum.

predestination be believed by all the faithful, because whoever does not believe the divine counsel in this predestination, will not arrive at the glorious effect of the same predestination."

4. That predestination then is a part of revelation, is too plain to require discussion: that it is liable to the same kind of difficulties as other parts of revelation, is not to be wondered at. The reason of this lies in a great measure in the imperfect way in which things of time express things of eternity. Thus, for instance, when we attempt to state the doctrine of the Trinity, we use language drawn from the operations either of our own minds, or from those of other created things. Thus we ascribe to the three divine Persons a certain order, but order implies succession, and succession time. It is only by a separate and subsequent act of the mind that we clear away the idea of succession of time from that order. If God be difficult to conceive by himself, as the Trinity, as the creative Trinity, he is still harder to conceive. All which God does external to himself, that the whole Trinity does. The whole Trinity created Christ's body and soul in Mary's womb, and did all the wonderful works which Christ did in the flesh<sup>d</sup>. The whole Trinity does all the wonderful works of grace in the souls of the saints. If it be hard to conceive the eternal Trinity alone, it is harder still to conceive him acting upon his crea-

<sup>d</sup> Le Quien. Diss. ii. ad Joan. Dam. p. xlii. Ecclesiæ doctrina inviolabilis est externa quævis Deitatis opera tribus personis perinde communia esse, ut quæcunque miracula Christus, etiam adhibita carne ediderit, eadem Pater et Spiritus Sanc-

tus simul et ex æquo perfecerint. Cujus hoc ratio est, quod divina essentia et natura, quæ in tribus personis indivisim una eademque est, principium sit illius unius et communis operationis a qua patrantur et eduntur.

tures. Eternity acting upon time is harder to conceive than eternity alone; harder, i. e. to form any such poor idea of as we creatures can form, than when we attempt to conceive it without those very elements of time, from which, as by a metaphor, we draw our expressions for it. And with what absurd ease people throw into eternity the attributes of time, is obvious from the question which is sometimes put, Why did not God create sooner? as if his eternity was a duration consisting of certain successive parts, some of which he had idled away when he might have been creating! Here then is one difficulty attaching to the mysteries of the Trinity and of creation, as well as to that of predestination; viz. that we express it in words of time, which are not suitable to it, though the best expressions we have.

5. Again, if we attempt to examine our idea of time itself, we shall find, it is a derived idea; language historically considered would shew, that expressions for time are taken for those of space\*. If it be disputable whether our *ideas* of time are earlier or simpler than those of space, there can be little doubt, but that our *words* for the latter are the earliest. And the way in which we express things often exercises a material influence upon the way in which we conceive them. Apply these things of reason to the things of faith, and we shall perceive a farther illustration of the difficulty of the mystery before us. God's predestination has somewhat the same relation to his omnipresence, as time has to space. One of the commonest expressions for the

\* Kuhner. Gr. Gram. §. 594. lichen Beziehung steht in naher  
Als Grundbedeutung der Pre- Verwandschaft die Zeitbezie-  
positionen haben wir die räum- hung, u. s. w.  
liche bezeichnet. Mit die räum-

latter in the holy Fathers is, *Totus ubique est*. The whole of him is every where. To say that the whole of God's presence is in this place, might seem to involve a denial of the fact, that the whole of it is equally in that, distant, place. One of the grounds why the Nestorians denied the hypostatic union seems to have been, because they could not believe that the entirety of God's substance<sup>f</sup> could be present in one body: to believe this, at all events, is a preliminary step towards believing that it could be united to that body. Hence the whole divine nature was one with Christ's body in the sepulchre, and one also with his soul in hell. As then we believe that the whole of God's presence is in two distinct places at once, so too we should believe that the whole of his duration (if the word may be allowed) was in the beginning of all things, and is in the end of all things. As we believe that the whole of his presence is not in two places only, but in all, so the whole of his duration is not in two times only, but in all. There is no foreknowledge in God, except by the help of the creatures, you create a before and an after. "To God," says Fulgentius, "nothing is past or future, for all things which he foreknows as to be done, are in such sense present to him, that, after they are done, past to him they cannot be<sup>g</sup>." "Since God's understanding, which is," says St. Thomas, "the same as his being, is measured by that eternity which, existing without succession, embraces the whole of time; the sight of God at present reaches to the whole of time, and to all

<sup>f</sup> See Mopsuestene, ap. Rabulam, Hard. iii. p. 432. Nestor. Anath. ii. in Ephes. ibid. i. p. 1299. Jo. Maxent. Dial. ii. init. Leont. c. Nest. i. 5. ap.

Mai. C. N. and Nestor. himself in Garn. ii. p. 88. p. 118. and see Cyril, ibid. p. 238.

<sup>g</sup> De Verit. P. and G. i. 15.

things that are in any time whatever<sup>h</sup>.” And St. Anselm, “We should remember, that as prescience cannot properly be said to be in God, so neither can predestination; *because* to him there is no before and after, but all things are to him present at once<sup>i</sup>.”

6. Again, when we reason about the attributes of God, we say that his mercy is one thing, and his justice another, and yet that each of them is the same as his being. This has the appearance of being contradictory: it looks like saying, that things which are the same with one thing are not the same with one another. But the fact is, that it is not God's mercy, but our idea of God's mercy, that is one thing, as our idea of his justice another: and though we know from diverse sources, that God is not compounded of essence and attributes, as creatures are, and know, consequently, that his mercy and his justice must be the same as his essence, yet we are not at liberty to throw every thing in theology into confusion, by casting aside that distinction between his justice and mercy. It is the best mode in which we can form any idea of God: we can conceive of his attributes much more clearly than of his essence. Nevertheless, to know that these attributes are the same as his essence, is not of no use. So also to will, and to know, to foredoom, and to foreknow, are things perfectly distinct in our ideas, and must be kept so, as otherwise all theological science would become a hopeless confusion. Nevertheless, here also it is of some use to remember, that as there is no before and after in God, so there is no distinction between knowing and willing in

<sup>h</sup> Sum. pt. i. q. 14. art. 9. 2. cf. q. i. cap. 4, 5. et de Casu. cf. art. 13. in co. a. Diab. 21.

<sup>i</sup> Ans. de Concord. q. 2. cap.

God, though it be absolutely necessary for us to use such a distinction, if we mean to keep from blasphemy. This will appear presently.

7. One use of knowing that all things are equally present to Almighty God, whether they be past or future, is, to put a stop to the supposition that practical evils are almost a necessary consequence of thinking at all upon predestination, or that part of divine providence which concerns the elect. For the same objection might as well be made to thinking about divine providence at all. If there be “a Divinity that shapes our ends, rough-hew them how we will,” we may be sure that the hour of our death is fixed, the work we have to do, and the temporal punishments we are to suffer if we neglect it. Nevertheless, we are under the same obligations to take care of our lives as we were before we thought of this: and we are just as little at liberty to cut them short either rashly or deliberately. “Might Hezechias (says Fulgentius) have said, that inasmuch as he had a sure promise from God that he should live for fifteen years, therefore he ought not to take either food or drink, or trouble his head about the things which preserve life<sup>k</sup>?” “If a man wills to lie that he may not have to undergo death, and keep life for a time; who shall say it is impossible for him to will not to lie, that he may avoid eternal death, and live without end<sup>l</sup>?” So says the great doctor of Canterbury. And his greater master St. Austin says, “There is this difference between real chaff, and carnal men, that the chaff has no free will, but God gave man free will. And if a man wills, yesterday he was chaff, to-day he becomes corn; if he turns himself away from the word of God to-day, he

<sup>k</sup> Fulg. de Verit. &c. l. iii. §. 10.

<sup>l</sup> De lib. arb. cap. vi.

becomes chaff<sup>m</sup>." And elsewhere he says, "It does not follow, that if the order of all causes is certain to God, therefore nothing is left to the freedom of our will. For our wills themselves also come in that order of causes, which is certain to God, and is contained in his prescience, for human wills are the causes of human actions<sup>n</sup>." It does not appear then but what the same objection might be raised to a firm, and living, and actual belief in divine providence, as to a belief in predestination. The latter is a part of the former, neither can be fairly said to be known by any thing but revelation, and neither destroy that free-will which we know of from experience, as well as from revelation.

8. It has been shewn by Butler, in his admirable Analogy<sup>o</sup>, that if the opinion of a necessity or fate could be proved, it would do little to influence practice with any reasonable man. Whatever excuse can be made for the man who murders, or the child who steals upon the score of necessity, will also serve as an excuse for the magistrate who executes the one, or the parent who punishes the latter. And this among other considerations shews, that however intoxicated with fatalism men might be at the first draught of it, still after a while men would be treated as if they were free, and forced against themselves to believe it. The very words for 'fate' imply a speaker or distributor who made the fatum to exist. Now if it be true that that fatalism which puts this reflection out of sight, would leave moral obligations where they are, then predestinarianism itself would not destroy them, the Catholic doctrine of predestination far less.

<sup>m</sup> Serm. 152. 6.

que Coquium.

<sup>n</sup> De Civ. Dei, v. 9. §. 4. ibi-

<sup>o</sup> Part i. chap.



9. One more reflection shall be added here, and that is this, that in all moral matters it is the wise and obvious course to begin with things of which we are certain, and to proceed to those of which we are less certain. Now we are more certain, infinitely more certain, that each one of us in particular has free-will, than that any one of us in particular is predestinated to any fixed condition. The Council of Trent indeed anathematizes those who say, "that a regenerate and justified man must believe that he is in the number of those predestined<sup>p</sup>" to salvation. But suppose a man to believe himself predestined to damnation, even then he will be under the same obligations to act as before, because he is quite certain that he has free-will, and quite as certain that there are different degrees of eternal torment, as that there is any eternal torment at all. He knows them both, from the same revelation: he knows he is free, from experience also. Unless then he can be sure that God has fixed some definite amount of torture for him in particular, unless he can prove that God does not punish as well as reward according to men's works, (i. e. that he is unjust,) then the plain practical rule is to go by what is certain, to the exclusion of what is uncertain. We will indulge him, if he pleases, in the wild conceit of the certainty of his own damnation; but until he can prove that the degree of it is wholly independent of his works, he is bound to do his very utmost to diminish, however little, his eternal, never-ending torments; that is, he is bound to be acting as he would act, if he had the hope he so unreasonably deprives himself of. For the obvious rule is, that we are to begin with things known, and known to

<sup>p</sup> Sess. vi. can. 15.

us<sup>a</sup>: our own particular free-will we are absolutely certain of: of our own particular predestination, we cannot possibly be certain, in the ordinary course of God's providence.

10. This then will suffice to shew, that it is idle to fancy, that thinking upon the subject of predestination, necessarily leads to a kind of tacit adoption of fatalist principles. Three passages shall be added here, to justify what has hitherto been said. "If I am unable," says the shrewd John of Salisbury, "to settle the suit between providence and free-will; if I cannot make the repugnancy between the fates and the feasibility of nature come to an agreement, is it therefore less true that these exist? As in civil law the defendant often earns most favour, so it is also in philosophical investigations, in those

<sup>a</sup> Aristot. E. N. 1. ἡμῖν γε ἀρκέσιον ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμῖν γνωρίμων. Caietan, who speaks of himself as 'peripatetico lacte nutritus,' has the following excellent remarks on the subject, in part i. q. 22. fin. Melius est enim tam fidei Catholicæ quam philosophiæ, fateri cœcitatem nostram quam asserere tanquam evidentia quæ intellectum non quietant: evidentia namque quietativa est. Nec propterea omnes doctores præsumptionis accuso, quoniam balbutiendo ut potuerunt, immobilitatem ac efficaciam summam et æternam divini intellectus, voluntatis, potestatisque insinuare intenderunt omnes per infallibilitatem ordinis divinæ electionis ad eventus omnes, quorum nihil præfatæ suspicioni obstat, quæ altius quid in eis latere credit. Et verè si sic prædicaretur, nullus forte circa

prædestinationem erraret Christianus, sicut non errat in materiâ Trinitatis; quia dicitur et scribitur et ita est, quod occulta est humano intellectui, et sola fides sufficit. Optimum autem atque salubre consilium est in hac re, inchoare ab eis quæ certo scimus et experimur in nobis, scilicet quod omnia quæ sub libero arbitrio nostro continentur, evitabilia a nobis sunt et propterea digni sumus poenâ vel præmio. Quomodo autem hoc salvo divina salvetur providentia et prædestinatio, &c. credere quod sancta mater Ecclesia credit.—Caietan upon other subjects held, I am aware, some strange opinions. But as no proof is offered that he was not in them, as in this, ready to obey the Church, to call so devout, acute, and learned a dignitary heretic, as some have almost done, is intolerable.

cases where the plaintiff seems to have, ordinarily speaking, the best cause. This, however, I think comes from our deficiency: for about primary principles, our intellect is deficient. Among these, the scrutiny of providence, and the investigation of matter, and many articles of our faith too, I hold we may most fitly reckon to be. Whilst, on the subject of providence, you slay the difficulty of one objection, like as when the hydra's head was cut off, under it there come up the heads of many more questions. If we go on to the subject of matter, straightway we find ourselves like men dreaming, betwixt some substance and none. When we look into the origin of the soul, the intellect thrusts upon us the idea of a transmission. Finally, in receiving a Trinity of persons in the divine substance, how, except by the power of faith, are you to escape the snares of Arius? In admitting the one simple and individual substance of the Divinity, how, save by the way of faith, will you avoid the grasp of Sabellius? Yet these are not the less truths, because they admit of being impugned by sundry questions. And though the Wisdom of God made himself visible to us by the mystery of the Incarnation, still he did not put himself so into the grasp of our intellect, as to make us even after it able to bring the discourse of reason to bear on all subjects, and know the greatness of the length, and breadth, and height, and depth of all things<sup>r</sup>." Though no one was more sensible of the limits of human intellect than St. Austin, and he seems<sup>s</sup> to avoid any thing like an

<sup>r</sup> Nug. Curial. ii. cap. 26.

<sup>s</sup> This is said with diffidence, as some writers speak of his labouring to reconcile the two:

as far as I know him, he appears to me to have left alone that thorny ground, and to have contented himself with

attempt to reconcile free-will and predestination, still he speaks as follows: "Chastity is to be preached, that nothing lawless may be perpetrated by the members it concerns: charity is to be preached, that by him that has ears to hear, God and his neighbours may be loved: so too that predestination of the benefits of God is to be preached, that he that has ears to hear may glory not in himself, but in the Lord." The other passage is from St. Ignatius' rules for thinking with the Church, one of the very best exemplifications of which are St. Augustine's own sermons, if we consider the difference of times. But as the holy Doctor preaches chastity in a manner suited to his own day, so he does predestination also. The words of the most prudent Doctor (so to style him) are these: "The fourteenth rule is, that though it be most true that salvation falleth to no one's lot who is not predestined, let it be observed that we must speak thereupon with circumspection: lest haply, by giving too wide a range to the grace or predestination of God, we seem desirous of excluding the power of free-will, and the merits of good works: or, conversely, lest by ascribing too much to the latter, we meanwhile derogate from the former. The fifteenth rule is, that for a similar reason predestination is not a subject to preach about frequently, and if sometimes it comes in, it ought to be so modified, that there be not given to the *common people* (plebs) any occasion of error, and of saying, If my salvation or damnation is already settled, whether I do well or ill, the event will be all the same; on which footing

shewing that there was ample proof of the truth of both free-will and predestination, how-  
 ever they might be reconciled.  
 ' de Dono. §. 51. comp. §. 40.  
 §. 62.

many are used to neglect good works, and other helps to salvation<sup>a</sup>.”

11. All this has been said to shew, that even false and fatalistic theories of predestination would not justify the maintainers of them in their impious and immoral conclusions. But it has been said also, in order, by contrast, to place the Catholic doctrine in a stronger light, and to shew better how free it is from such objection. Now predestination, or analogous words in Scripture, are used in two senses: in one sense it has respect to the end only, be that end damnation, or glory: in the other sense it has respect to the means also. The distinction between prescience and predestination, which we creatures must make here, comes clearly before us. God knows beforehand the works both of the good and the wicked, and the end also both of the good and of the wicked<sup>z</sup>. There is nothing blasphemous in saying this. But to say God wills beforehand, and by willing causes the works of the wicked, as well as the end of the wicked, is blasphemous. Condemnation they may be and are ordained to, or to the day of evil; but it would be a manifest blasphemy to say, that God had prepared wicked works for them to walk in; as it is said of the good, that he has prepared good works for them to walk in. The tendency then of predestinarian heresies is to confuse the prescience with the predestination of

<sup>a</sup> Exerc. Spirit. i. p. 339. ed. Dieritins.

<sup>z</sup> Caietan. l. c. in q. 23. art. 5. Licet præscientia meritorum non concedatur causa prædestinationis, præscientia tamen demeritorum causa quodam speciali modo est reprobationis, quia propter demerita

præscita nec a se præparata, statuit Deus a se quosdam perpetuo puniendos, ut sua bonitas in tali justitiâ participetur; and presently after, Non dicimus quod ideo permittit Deus peccata ut puniat, sed dicimus quia permittit et punit propter relucientiam justitiæ suæ.

God, and to obliterate the marks which distinguish the two. Hence some of them are usually said to hold a double predestination: because they use the term predestination of the wicked in the same sense as they use it of the good: they make God the author both of the works and of the reward of the wicked, as well as of the good. In the good he is the author both of the premisses and of the conclusion, in the bad of the conclusion only. So far as our free-will since the fall is incapable of any such supernatural acts as merit salvation, grace is the cause, and God the author both of the premisses and of the conclusion in the good. To make him the author in the bad, of the wicked works necessary to secure their damnation, will be to make an eternal purpose such as will lead men forward towards the belief of an eternal evil principle. If Calvinism does not lead to Manicheism, it ought to do so, and must be withheld from doing so by some accidental and external restraints<sup>†</sup>. If it be said, How can God have determined such an end as damnation for certain persons, without thereby determining upon the means also, that is, without securing their doing bad works, the answer may be drawn from what has been already said. The whole of God's duration being as much at the end of all things as at the beginning, what he seems to us to do by steps<sup>\*</sup>, that he does at once. This we cannot conceive fully, but can conceive enough to shew, that God does not determine

<sup>†</sup> Cyril. Apol. p. 167. Οὐ δὴ φαίη τις ἂν ὑφεξάναι τὴν θείαν ὀργὴν, ὥστε καὶ αὐτῆς γεννήματα νοεῖσθαι τοὺς ἁμαρτάνοντας. Ἡ πάντα τε καὶ πάντως ὁμοφρόνες ἐσόμεθα τοῖς τὴν Μανιχαίων νοσοῦσι μανίαν.

<sup>\*</sup> Butler, Anal. ii. cap. 4. p. 275.

We are greatly ignorant how far things are considered by the Author of nature under the single notion of means and ends, so as that it may be said, this is merely an end and that merely means in his regard.

upon having the grounds for damning persons in such sense as to cause those grounds.

12. If the term predestination has been here used of the reprobate as well as of the elect, it is from a belief that such is the general use with protestants, and, from a knowledge of the fact, that St. Austin and other Catholic writers have sometimes so employed it. But if we confine the word to the elect, and use reprobation of the damned, it will appear more plainly why double predestination is spoken of as the belief of Calvinists. Exclude the idea of predestination to evil works, and the term itself is allowable enough, when used only of the end of both. But a few witnesses in favour of what has been, will be properly introduced here. "If any one (say the Fathers of Trent) shall say that it is not in man's power to make his ways evil, but that God works evil works as he does good ones, not permissively only, but properly and of himself, so that the treachery of Judas is just as much his work as the call of Paul, let him be anathema<sup>a</sup>." And in this Canon against the reformers, the Fathers of Trent were preceded by those of the second Council of Orange, A.D. 529. "That any persons are by the divine power predestined to evil, we not only do not believe, but if there be any persons minded to believe so great an evil, with utter detestation thereof we say anathema to them<sup>a</sup>." This Council has been sanctioned by the Holy See, and so is authoritative. And Innocent the Xth, in the condemnation of the five propositions of Jansenius, says, that "to assert that Christ died for the salvation of the predestined only, is impious, blasphemous, contumelious, derogatory to the divine goodness, and heretical<sup>b</sup>." Here the same idea of a

<sup>a</sup> Sess. vi. Can. 6.

1101. d. and see p. 1109.

<sup>a</sup> Can. 25. ap. Hard. ii. p.

<sup>b</sup> Ap. Hard. xi. p. 144. E.

double predestination is by implication strongly condemned. Fulgentius, an author in great esteem upon these subjects, and who defended Augustine after his death from the charge of holding a double predestination in the heretical sense, has the following: "God's predestination is nothing else than the eternal preparation of his own future works, in which preparation no cause of any evil may be found, seeing that at no time hath the origin of sin proceeded from God's will." And again: "Never could God have predestined man to that which he had himself intended both to prohibit by his precept, and to blot out by his mercy, and to punish by his justice." And elsewhere: "God has prepared for the wicked an eternal fire, for those, that is, whom he has justly prepared to suffer punishment, but has not predestined to do sins<sup>c</sup>." And St. Augustine himself, "God does not promise all that he predicts; he predicts even those things which he does not do himself, because he has prescience of all things future. Therefore he predicts even the sins of men, which he might foreknow, but not do. But he promises those things which he himself will do, and those not bad, but good. Although therefore he brings evils upon the evil, it is not sins but punishments that he brings<sup>d</sup>."

13. In spite of what has been said, it may be still urged, that after all, this is no defence of God's goodness, if with a distinct foresight of men's wickedness, he goes on creating so many that will infallibly be damned. St. Austin indeed says, that "there would be good reason to regard it as unjust, that vessels of wrath are made to perdition, if the entire race from Adam was not one condemned mass<sup>e</sup>." But if there

<sup>c</sup> De dupl. Præd. 7. cap. 20.  
23. de Ver. P. et G. iii. §. 8.

<sup>d</sup> Epist. 140. §. 48.

<sup>e</sup> Ibid. 190. §. 9. comp. 186.  
§. 12. Fulg. de Ver. &c. ii.  
§. 33.



is no chance of salvation but by being drawn out of this mass, and no chance of this but by predestinating grace, then not to predestinate is to damn, and so the Catholic theory of predestination is as bad at bottom as the Calvinist. To this it is answered : Nay, for whereas the Catholic system leaves it as a mystery, which no one can explain, why God saves one out of those who are all under sentence of wrath and not another, the Calvinistic system cannot brook this mystery, and explains it not by any reference to the sins of them that are lost, but by saying that God determines to secure the damnation of some. We on the contrary acknowledge, that "all the souls that are were forfeit once," and that God has in his mercy rescued some. Why he has not done so to all, we cannot understand; but we maintain, that he in some true sense wills all men to be saved, not the elect only; just as St. Paul willed a few verses before that all men should be prayed for, among which all he included the Nero's of his day. But if with our weak faculties we cannot reconcile the creation of so many souls that will be damned to God's goodness, neither can we reconcile the creation of so many seeds or animals which are wasted before they come to perfection with his wisdom. Because we can only know in part what God tells us, either of himself or of ourselves, we are not therefore to refuse to hear from the Church that part which he has told us. Hence, if new difficulties keep presenting themselves as we reflect upon so great a mystery, we may yet consider it as one fixed point, that God wills us each to be saved, as another, that he predestines no one to evil deeds, as another, that he brings us to himself by his predestinating grace, not by our merits; as another, that we are left free, and can after grace do meritorious actions.

14. In regard to the last point, which was alluded to in the beginning of the chapter, little need be said. But it may be observed, that if grace and freewill in the elect could be reconciled ever so perfectly, there would still remain the difficulty why God calls one and not another. But it does not at present appear that they can be reconciled; for Benedict the XIVth, in his celebrated letter in defence of Cardinal Noris to the Inquisitor of Spain, says, "You know that upon the famous questions touching predestination and grace, and the mode of reconciling the freedom of man with the omnipotence of God, there are in the schools manifold opinions." He then notices how Romanists have been accused of Calvinism, Augustinians of Baianism, and Molinists of Semipelagianism; how each defend themselves, and how the holy see has left them at liberty to follow their own opinions. "None of these proposed ways of reconciling man's freedom with God's omnipotence," he adds, "has the Holy See hitherto rejected." This immensely learned and immensely prudent Pontiff's words are quoted here, to shew what points touching grace and free will a person should handle, who wishes to embroil himself in domestic controversy. It is in the reconciling of the two that the most debateable matter is to be found. The existence of the two is universally believed by all Catholic doctors. It is possible therefore to speak of them separately, without trying to reconcile them, so long as care be taken to abstain from using such a mode of speaking of the one as destroys the truth of the other. As we may speak of Christ sleeping, eating, drinking, being weary, or suffering, without necessarily, at the time, considering the precise relation his divine Personality

had to these human acts, provided we do not so speak of them as to make them merely human acts; or as we may so speak of his miracles as to use them as proofs of his divine nature, without necessarily at the time considering the human nature in and by which they were also done: so we may in thought sever acts of free will from predestination, or this from the former. When we have occasion then to speak of these two, there will be no necessity or intention to meddle with the conflicting theories by which persons have sought to reconcile them.

15. Thus much, however, it seemed desirable to say upon the subject, to keep Protestants from supposing, should this work meet their eyes, that we preach in any sense a fatalism, because we believe a predestination. There is one other great excuse for mentioning so intricate a subject: it is this. When St. Augustine first took the subject in hand, he had not considered it in all its bearings; some things which, as he grew older, he saw to be heretical, he had at one time held himself<sup>f</sup>; he was accused by the French monks of teaching a doctrine not to be found in the Fathers, and Prosper of Aquitaine wrote to know how he was to meet this assertion<sup>g</sup>. He quoted passages and explained diffi-

<sup>f</sup> De Præd. Sanct. §. 7.

<sup>g</sup> Epist. 225. §. 8. Retractatis priorum de hac re opinionibus *pæne omnium* par invenitur et una sententia, quâ propositum et prædestinationem Dei secundum *præscientiam* receperunt: ut ob hoc Deus alios vasa honoris alios contumeliæ fecerit, quia *finem* uniuscujusque præviderit—is the difficulty Prosper propounds to St. Austin to be solved: and *ibid.* §. 3.

Obstinationem suam vetustate defendunt, et ea quæ de epistola Apostoli Pauli Romanis scribentis ad manifestationem divinæ gratiæ prævenientis electorum merita proferuntur, *a nullo unquam Ecclesiasticorum* ita esse intellecta ut nunc sentiuntur, affirmant. And Hilary's letter has things to the same effect. In reply, St. Austin asks what use it is to pore over the books of those who

culties as best he could. He argued, as we have seen, that because the Church prayed for the conversion of infidels, therefore she held implicitly and unconsciously that God gave the beginning of faith and grace. Read the Fathers before him, and his teaching on the subject is so full and explicit, as to seem like a new revelation. In the East, the doctor of grace was admired more as an authority upon the Trinity and the Incarnation, than as a clear expounder of predestination. There his doctrine never seems to have been fully in vogue<sup>h</sup>. So learned a man as Cardinal Noris has thought and said, that Vincent of Lerins wrote his "*quod semper quod ubique quod ab omnibus*" to lash the doctor of grace for his novelties<sup>i</sup>. If therefore this doctrine paves the way for things we teach now-a-days, let it be remembered, that it once seemed as novel. The question is, what was in the heart of the Church from the first: the moving of her lips may sometimes mislead the scornful Elis, while the disciples of St. Augustine will look to the thoughts of her heart. *Norma precandi præscribit normam credendi.*

wrote before this heresy rose, &c. &c. de Præd. S. §. 27. but he cannot quote the Fathers in support of his statements.

<sup>h</sup> Vide Le Quien. ad Jo. Dam. vol. i. p. 198. n. 2.

<sup>i</sup> Op. vol. i. p. 386. In vol. iv.

p. 912. his learned Editors, the Ballerini, quote a letter from a French literatus to the same effect. They mention, however, the hypothesis of those who think there were several Vincentius's.

## CHAP. VII.

OF THE PREDESTINATION OF CHRIST TO BE THE SON OF GOD.

1. THAT our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ put himself under this law of predestination, has always been taught since the time of St. Augustine. As the consideration of this subject will help to shew how the grace which Christ had, depended upon his human nature being from the first hypostatically united to the Word, a chapter shall here be devoted to it. Theodore of Mopsuesta denied, it seems, that the merits of Christ were occasioned by the hypostatic union, but made the foresight of them the reason why the union which he allowed him was bestowed upon him. "His will," he says, "was preserved him entire from the beginning, as God distinctly knew what sort of man he was to be<sup>a</sup>." And Nestorius said, that "God the Word, having taken to him that man whom he had predestined by the word of his power, had no variance with him, owing to the disposition he had foreknown he would have<sup>b</sup>." This seems to be proof that the predestination of Christ, in the Catholic sense, was not an acceptable doctrine to the Nestorian party, and if so, to be fresh proof

<sup>a</sup> Ap. Vigil. Const. Hard. iii. p. 33. B. Conservabatur a divinâ gratiâ illi voluntas integra ab initio, Deo, qualis erit, subtiliter sciente. So too in Leont. ap. Canis, p. 585. he says, Habuit propensionem non vulgarem ad meliora ex unione cum Verbo, quâ habitus est dignus secundum *præcognitionem* filii Dei qui

a principio sibi eum univit. It is not predestination, but pre-science, which he makes the cause of the merits.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. p. 895. c. 'Ο Θεὸς Λόγος ἀναλαβὼν ὃν προώρισεν ἄνθρωπον τῷ τῆς ἐξουσίας λόγῳ, πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐ διεκρίθη διὰ τὴν προγνωσθεῖσαν αὐτῷ διάθεσιν.

of that connection between the two heresies of Nestorius and Pelagius, which has been already pointed out.

2. Now it is possible for a person to represent this as an obscure doctrine, based upon a single text of Scripture, and that text with very little Greek authority in its favour. Hence it is desirable to say something, first, in defence of the Catholic reading of that text ; next, to adduce other passages of Scripture bearing upon the doctrine ; and, lastly, to cite some of the passages in which Saint Austin teaches it. By doing this, the reader will be more reconciled to the mention of predestination in the last chapter, and will see more fully the intimate connection between an orthodox creed upon the Incarnation, and an orthodox creed upon grace.

3. In the first place, then, it is likely that the Romans had a correct version of the Epistle to themselves, more likely than that the Greeks should have the most correct of the two. St. Peter<sup>c</sup>, who probably wrote his last epistle in Rome, speaks as if he had copies of all St. Paul's epistles there ; but to suppose, that that to the Romans was not there, is to go against all probability. The question is, then, whether there are proofs that such was always the western reading. That St. Austin uniformly has it, may be thought not worth asserting : but when we consider, how often he mentions various readings, and those from Greek Manuscripts too ; when we remember also, that he had this reading before the Pelagian controversy<sup>d</sup> ; it is probable that his Greek as well as

<sup>c</sup> 2 Pet. iii. 15. August. Epist. 194. §. 7. De gratiæ commendatione *maxime* ad Romanos apostolica epistola loquitur, ut *inde* se prædicatio

ejus velut a capite orbis toto orbe diffunderet.

<sup>d</sup> Contr. Fortun. Man. Disp. i. §. 19.

his Latin text had it. Even Pelagius had this reading in his commentary on the Romans. The very ancient Latin translator of Irenæus<sup>e</sup> has it, and all other Latin authorities, except Ruffinus, Hilary, and Tertullian. Ruffinus's eastern bias is well known: the Gallican Church followed the Eastern, and Tertullian perhaps wrote before the Italian version was imported into Africa. Hence the fact, that these three Latin writers had it, proves nothing against what is here urged, that the Roman text of the Epistle to the Romans is the ancient and genuine one. In the East, Marcellus of Ancyra<sup>f</sup>, and (as it seems) Paul of Samosata, and Nestorius as above quoted, had this reading, which may have made it unpopular, when there were two to choose from. Eunomius<sup>g</sup> also had an Arian theory, which such a reading might have been used to prop. Such considerations would of course be in a critic's eye worth very little, except there was external evidence for the existence of two readings such as has been noticed. To the probability then in favour of the Roman reading must be added, the support it has from old Latin writers: and from the probability in favour of the Greek must be deducted somewhat, inasmuch as cause can be shewn why the Latin reading should have gradually become unpopular. Such would be the difficulty which might present itself to fair-minded critics: with the Catholic of course the authority of the Church gives a decided preponderance to the Roman text.

4. But perhaps this is not the only text in the New Testament which speaks of the predestination

<sup>e</sup> Lib. iii. cap. 22.

<sup>f</sup> Newman on Athan. p. 114.  
note c.

<sup>g</sup> Eunomius only refers to  
a view which might be built  
on this text. Apol. §. 24.

of Christ. For if we remember that St. Paul had said in 1 Cor. i. that Jesus Christ was made to us wisdom, and in the next chapter that he says, "we speak of the wisdom of God which is hidden, which God predestined before the ages, which if the princes of this world had known, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory;" we shall see that he has the same idea before the mind, if the very words do not explicitly teach it. But we will quote a text of the Old Testament, which at first sight seems strongly to assert, that the foresight of Christ's merits was the reason why his human nature was united with God. "Thou hast loved justice and hated iniquity, therefore God hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows." Now here some of the doctors in Arian times paved the way for the very opposite conclusion: for they took the words, "Thou hast loved justice, &c." as a statement of the unchangeableness of the divine nature. The text then would mean, Because you are the immutable God, therefore your unction transcends that of all others: because you are a divine Person, therefore you are anointed above those who by your Incarnation have become your fellows. As this interpretation of the words, "Thou hast loved, &c." employed by some anti-Arian writers, would remove some difficulties, two passages from two great doctors shall be added, to shew that these writers did so take those words. Cyril in his Thesaurus, before Nestorian times, writes thus: "Since of all created things, having a changing nature, none was able to fight with the devil, but you, (who are unchangeable from an unchangeable Father,) always love justice, and hate iniquity; God has anointed you, that in you, and in you first, he may see man's



nature victorious as they could not be<sup>h</sup>." Athanasius observes, that the words, Thou hast loved, &c. do not shew, as Arius supposed, "that the *nature of the Word* is alterable, but rather by their very force signify his unalterableness<sup>i</sup>." Now this interpretation would remove some difficulties from the passage: but it must be observed, that even those writers who take the words of the human nature of Christ, do not suppose that its merits<sup>k</sup> caused the union, but that by the anointing is meant the external display of Christ's already existing graces. Origen<sup>l</sup>, on the contrary, and Theodore<sup>m</sup>, use this text to prove that he obtained by his own merits the grace of union. This passage then cannot be considered to make any difficulty when set against the many others which teach or imply the same doctrine. And it is observable, that St. Augustine neither in his commentary on the Psalms, nor elsewhere, has ever treated it as an objection.

5. But there are a large number of texts, all of which pretty distinctly imply, that Christ was predestined to be the Son of God. Such are those

<sup>h</sup> Thes. p. 198. Comp. De Adorat. p. 352. Dial. 591. 728. in Joan. p. 473. 993.

<sup>i</sup> c. Arian. i. 51. Oxf. Trans. p. 254. n. i.

<sup>k</sup> Lorinus in Ps. xlv. p. 895, c. Hilarius meritum quidem in verbis hujus loci agnoscit, sed sine dubio intelligit, de merito, quod jam existens Christus habuit, ac secundum ea, quæ cadere potuerunt sub meritum ipsius. 'Consequens et posterior,' inquit, 'causa nunquam refertur ut prior sit, quia meruisse aliquid posterius

est quam esse, qui possit mereri; mereri enim ejus est, qui sibi ipse meriti acquirendi auctor existat.' de Trin. xi. §. 19. Possibly Hilary used 'meritum' in a loose sense, somewhat as præmia is used in Lucretius, not for rewards, but for boons. Compare, however, the passage quoted in §. 6. from St. Austin's Sermons; and on belief of the Unity of Person, see Ben. Præf. p. xxiii.

<sup>l</sup> In Conc. V. Hard. iii. p. 275, b.

<sup>m</sup> H. ibid. p. 26, e.

which speak of the saints being predestined in conformity to his image, or predestined *in* him to the adoption of children; those which speak of the glory which God gave Christ, because he loved him before the creation of the world; those which speak of Christ as elect or chosen, or those which speak in a past<sup>n</sup> tense of the sufferings of Christ, and of the glory which should follow, which last passages are analogous to those which speak of the works of the elect, which God had prepared for them to walk in. For all passages of this description imply a Son as the Image in the mind of the blessed Trinity, after which the saints were created: but such an image must be a human image, and not the divine only. Before quoting some passages where Augustine states this doctrine, the following may be cited from the great Jesuit schoolman: "The reason of Christ's predestination is to be taken from St. Thomas, which is this: predestination, properly speaking, is that part of divine providence, whereby God foreordains from eternity those things which through grace are to be done in time. Since then the production of the hypostatic union, the result of which was Christ subsisting in two natures, took place by the very greatest grace of God, it follows that through the ordaining of that union a predestination took place, whereby God ordained and predetermined that Christ should exist. And in this way the difficulty raised against St. Thomas's statement comes to an end. For Peter's existence, [the instance alleged in objection,] though preordained from eternity by divine providence, yet does not pertain to super-

<sup>n</sup> Aug. in Joan. ex. §. 3. *teriti temporis verbis futura  
More suo propter immobilitatem prædestinationis præ-*  
*significat.*

natural grace, but to natural providence; and therefore Peter is not, properly speaking, said to be predestined because his existence was predetermined; whereas, since Christ's existence pertaineth to an order of things specially supernatural, the predetermining of it can be called predestination."

6. The first passage from St. Austin shall be taken from one of his Sermons°. "Will any one be so bold as to say, that our nature in that Mediator merited God first by free-will, and merited to be so taken that man and God should be one Christ Jesus? At this rate, we may say that by our virtues, by our morals, by our life and conversation, *we* have merited to be made sons of God: we may say, we received a commandment, if we have kept it and lived well, we shall be received into the number of the sons of God. Was he then in being first as son of man, and by living well made the Son of God? Thence he began, thence he commenced, and it was<sup>p</sup> by being taken that he was made: for the Word was made flesh, that he might dwell in us. The Word of God, the only Son of God, took the soul and flesh of a man, but not of one that merited himself first, and laboured by his own virtue till he obtained that sublime dignity, but altogether gratuitously. Nothing preceded that taking, by that taking he was made. A Virgin conceived: was man a mediator before the Virgin's conception?"

7. "When John the Baptist says, He doth not give the Spirit in measure, he was speaking of the Son of God himself, to whom the Spirit was not given in measure, because in him there dwelleth the whole

° Serm. 174. §. 2.

tus est. I suspect *et* should

<sup>p</sup> In the words, *Inde cœpit,* be *unde.*  
*inde inceptit et susceptione fac-*

fulness of the divinity. And indeed it is not without the grace of the Holy Spirit that the Man Christ Jesus is Mediator of God and man, seeing that he himself told us, that the prophecy of Isaias was fulfilled in him: 'The Spirit of the Lord is upon me; wherefore he hath anointed me.' . . . For that the only-begotten is equal to the Father is not of grace, but of nature; but that man is taken into a oneness of person with the only-begotten, is of grace, not of nature, the Gospel itself confessing it, and saying, 'The child increased and was strengthened, being full of wisdom, and the *grace* of God was in him.' But to others he is given in measure, and *after* he is given, he is *added*<sup>q</sup>."

8. Yet as far as he is man we read of him; "Jesus increased in wisdom, in age, and grace with God and man. According to this then, it is orthodox to say, that inasmuch as the human nature does not belong to the nature of God, yet by grace a human nature does belong to the person of the only-begotten Son of God, and by so great a grace, that there is none greater than it, none whatever equal to it. For no merits preceded that taking of the human nature, but it was from that taking of it that all its merits had their beginning<sup>r</sup>." For what has human nature even in the only-begotten which it did not receive? Did it not then receive the power of doing no evil and all good, when it was taken into a unity of Person by the Word, by whom all things were made<sup>s</sup>." Shall we then dread to call him predestinate, because all the Apostle has said of us is, that we shall be conformed to his image? As if any one, who looked with a

<sup>q</sup> In Joan. tr. 74. §. 3.

<sup>r</sup> Ibid. 82. §. 4.

<sup>s</sup> Ibid. 105. §. 4. Cyril. Dial.

p. 746. b. applies the same text of St. Paul to our Lord.

believer's eye to the rule of faith, would deny that the Son of God was predestinated, since he cannot deny him to be man. For it is right to say, that he was not predestinated according as he is the Word of God, God with God. For why should he be predestinated who already was what he was, having eternity with neither beginning nor end? That then was to be predestinated which was not yet in being<sup>†</sup>.

9. "God took our nature, that is, the rational soul and flesh of the man Christ, by a taking so singularly marvellous, or marvellously singular, that, although no merit of any justice of his own preceded, he should be so Son of God, from the beginning by which he commenced to be man, that he and the Word, which is without beginning, should be one Person. Now, indeed, is there any one so utterly in the dark, from ignorance of this matter and of the faith, as to dare to say, that though born Son of man from the Holy Ghost and Virgin Mary, yet that it was by living well through free-will, and by doing good works without sin, that he merited being Son of God<sup>⁹</sup>. For this is against the Gospel, which says, 'the Word was made Flesh.' And where was he made this, except in the Virgin's womb, from which the man Christ had his beginning? And also when the Virgin asked, how what the Angel announced was to come about, the Angel answered, 'The Holy Spirit shall come over thee, and the virtue of the Most High shall overshadow thee. On account of which, the holy thing that is to be born of thee shall be called the Son of God.' He does not say, on account of works, for of one

<sup>†</sup> Ibid. §. 8.

<sup>⁹</sup> See above, p. 70. There are several sentences in these

passages which look like an allusion to Theodorus's, *Non in video Christo, &c.*

not yet born, there were no works, but on account of the Holy Spirit coming over thee. . . . That birth which was altogether of grace, joined in oneness of Person, man to God, flesh to the Word. That birth good works followed; and it was not good works that merited it<sup>\*</sup>.” “One use of the Incarnation was, that man might see clearly what position he held in God’s creation, since human nature could so be joined to God, as out of two substances to become one Person. . . . Another was, that the grace of God, without any merits preceding, might be commended to us, in the man Christ; because not even he obtained by any merits preceding, that he should be joined by so perfect a unity with the true God, as to be one person with him, even the Son of God. But from the time that he began to be man, from that he was also God: whence it is said, The Word became flesh. There is this reason too, that the pride of man, which is the chief hindrance to his cleaving close to God, might, by this great humility of God, be rebuked and healed<sup>†</sup>.”

10. “All these singularly wonderful gifts, and whatever may be with great truth said to be proper to him, the human, i. e. our nature singularly received in him, without any merits of his preceding. This is the place then for man to answer God if he dares, and say ‘Why should I not be so too?’ And if he hears it said, ‘O man, who art thou to answer God?’ not even so let him restrain his impudence, but push it further still, and say, ‘Why am I to be told, Who art thou, O man? since I am what I am told, i. e. a man, which is what he, of whom I am speaking, is too, why am I not to be as good as he? You will say, because it is by

<sup>\*</sup> De Corr. et Grat. §. 30. iv. 84.

See too, Op. imp. i. 138. 140.

<sup>†</sup> De Trin. xiii. §. 22.

grace that he is as great as he is ; why is the grace different where the nature is common ? Surely there is no acceptance of persons with God. I will not say what Christian man, but what man would talk thus ?

11. “ Let us therefore in our Head behold the fountain of grace itself, from which according to the measure of each one, it diffuses itself through all his members. Each man becomes, at the beginning of his faith, a Christian with the same grace, as the grace with which that Man from his own beginning was made Christ ; from the very same Spirit is the former born again, from which the latter was born ; by the same Spirit does remission of sins take place in us, as that Spirit by which it came to pass that he had no sin. This God surely foreknew that he would do. The predestination of saints then is that which specially shone in the Saint of saints, which predestination who can deny that has a right understanding of the words of truth ? For we have learnt concerning the Lord of glory, that he himself also was predestined, in as far as man was made the Son of God. The doctor of the Gentiles proclaims this at the head of his Epistles : ‘ Paul, a servant of Jesus Christ, called to be an apostle, separated unto the Gospel of God, which he had promised before by his prophets in the holy Scriptures, and concerning his Son who was made of him of the seed of David according to the flesh, who was predestinated the Son of God, in power, according to the Spirit of sanctification from the resurrection of the dead.’ ”

12. “ Jesus then was predestinated, inasmuch as he was to be according to the flesh the Son of David, yet was in power the Son of God, according to the Spirit of sanctification, because he was born of the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary.

This was that singular taking of man by God the Word, wrought in a way ineffable, so that he should be truly and properly called at once Son of God and Son of man; Son of man, by reason of man<sup>z</sup> that was taken, and Son of God, on account of God the only-begotten who took, lest we should believe not in a Trinity, but in a Quaternity<sup>a</sup>. So great and so lofty and supreme elevation was predestined for human nature, that it was not to be capable of being raised any higher: just as the divine nature itself had not where to let itself down any lower, than it did by taking the nature of man with the infirmity of the flesh, even to the death of the Cross. As then he being one was predestinated in order to be our head, so we being many are predestinated to be his members. Here let human merits hold their peace, seeing they perished in Adam; and let that grace reign, which does reign through Jesus Christ our Lord, the only Son of God, the one Lord. Let him, who in our head may have discovered the merits which caused that single birth, look in us his members for merits preceding the manifold new births of us. For that birth was not given as a reward to Christ, but merely given, in order that he might be born free from every manacle of sin, of the Spirit and a Virgin<sup>b</sup>.”

13. “There is then no more palpable example of

<sup>z</sup> It may be observed once for all, that *homo* is used as in the *Te Deum* (*tu ad liberandum suscepturus hominem*) for the human nature. This is not wonderful in a language destitute of an article definite or indefinite. But even the Greeks have the phrase, *κυριακὸς ἀνθρώπου*. See Leont. ap.

Mai, C. N. p. 494. 500. 532. Anast. Sin. p. 102. Sirm. ad Fac. Herm. xi. 2. Vallars. ad Didym. de Sp. Sancto, p. 158. Noris i. p. 501. &c.

<sup>a</sup> This, which frequently occurs in St. A., was of frequent use against the Nestorians: see below, chap. x. §. 2.

<sup>b</sup> de Præd. Sanct. §. 30.



predestination than Jesus himself . . . . the Mediator. Whoever of the faithful wishes to understand it well, let him look to him, and in him he will find himself also—the faithful, I say, who in him believes and confesses a true human nature, that is, ours (though it was in a singular way that God the Word took it,) will find that nature in such way elevated into the only Son of God, that he who took, and that which he took, was one Person in the Trinity\*.”

14. These passages from the great doctor of grace shew very clearly, that he held that Christ's merits did not cause, but were caused by, the hypostatic union, and that his predestination was therefore not in consequence of his merits, but his merits were caused by the predestination of that union. To deny this, he held to be tantamount to gainsaying the declaration, that the Word was made flesh. Now if this union caused the merits of Christ, the cause of the merits was in operation as soon as the union took place. Grace could go out from Christ as soon as he was conceived. It is impossible to read these passages of St. Austin, without seeing with what horror he would have regarded the jeers of Nestorius against the Jesus of Catholics, as a three months' old God: impossible not to see, that in cutting at the roots of Pelagianism he destroys Nestorianism, which was an offshoot of it: it is scarce possible to avoid the conclusion, that he would heartily have subscribed to the condemnation of the heretic of Mopsuesta, who was the parent of both heresies.

15. All this then will help much to shew, that the moment the predestination of Christ took effect, he was full not of truth only, but of grace also. The act by which the two natures became one, is always

\* De Dono. §. 67.

spoken of by St. Augustine as a singular 'grace.' It may not be amiss to observe here, that when St. Cyril denies that the human nature of Christ was one with the divine by grace, he differs in words, but in reality agrees with St. Austin. The one Father denies the two natures were one Christ by grace, that the grace may not be thought to be capable of any parallel from the saints: the other calls it a singular grace to put the same truth before us. Of the Incarnation St. Cyril asserts, that if it could be clearly explained, it would cease to be a mystery<sup>d</sup>. If the doctrine of the Trinity did not seem to contradict our reason, if Transubstantiation did not seem to contradict our senses, they would cease to be mysteries. Should any persons think that predestination appears to contradict free-will, they cannot therefore deny this mystery. All man's proudest faculties are called as it were by revelation into God's presence, and ordered to bow before him. Whatever they may understand if they submit, it is certain that if they do not, they will understand nothing. "Each man," says Augustine, "is<sup>e</sup> less clothed with the light of truth, in proportion as he seems to his own self to be putting forth the naked truth."

<sup>d</sup> Contr. Nestor. p. 52. a.

<sup>e</sup> Epist. 242. §. 5.

## CHAP. VIII.

THE UNITY OF CHRIST'S PERSON, THE SUBSTANCE OF ST. CYRIL'S  
TEACHING.

WHAT has been already said of the great doctor of grace, will have served to shew, that he was a doctor of the Incarnation also. There is a surprising clearness in his statements concerning the unity of Christ's Person : he seems to have seen and taught it with such force, that an idle wish will sometimes come across the mind, that he and St. Cyril might have met at Ephesus to oppose their common enemies, and to have conversed together upon those mysteries, which they now contemplate together in heaven. However, the strength of their testimony to the great truths they taught might have lost somewhat, had that wish been able to deprive it of its present independency. As it is, both stand forth at the age when the Incarnation began to be discussed, and lay independently of each other the foundation stones of Mary's dignity upon earth. Let us take a glance at the position they hold as master workmen in building up the structure of Catholic doctrine : let us look before them and behind them, and consider their bearing upon our present subject.

2. Both these great doctors then were possessed of keen, logical, penetrating minds, and were masters of no ordinary share of profane as well as of sacred learning. Hence it was not external circumstances

only, but also mental acquirements, which fitted the one to be the doctor of grace, and the other the doctor of the Incarnation. As there was no council in after times upon the subject of grace over which St. Austin did not seem to preside and put his words into their mouths; so among all the councils upon the Incarnation, it is neither the 'royal-hearted Athanase,' nor the sweet divine of Nazianzum, nor the prophetic Nyssen, nor the majestic Basil, nor the devotional Ephrem, nor the golden-tongued Chrysostom, but Cyril of Alexandria, whose name is perpetually recurring. Both he and St. Austin were great commentators upon Scripture, both uncompromising though prudent maintainers of allegorical interpretation against the disciples of Diodore of Tarsus, both wrote profoundly upon the Gospel of St. John, both handled and illuminated the doctrine of the Trinity, both were most distinct vouchers for the belief in the double Procession, both keen discerners between the adoration due to God and that due to the saints, both strong asserters of the adoration due to God the Son in the Sacrament, both great expounders of the mysteries of grace, and clear maintainers of the doctrine of original sin. Of these two great preachers of so many doctrines needful to prove Mary's privileges, the one refused, as we shall see, to transcribe her to the dominion of Satan, and the other had the supreme honour of officially enthroning her in that title which all ages had given her, 'the Mother of God\*.'

3. Now as of St. Augustine, so of St. Cyril, it might be said, that his doctrine appears to be new, when put beside that of those before him; yet as

\* Proofs of these assertions occur in different parts of this work.

the one does, so does the other, appeal to those Fathers who went before them. St. Cyril indeed is able to make out a much better case for the Incarnation, than St. Austin can for his doctrine of grace and predestination. Yet both hold strongly to the principle of appealing to the earlier Catholic writers, both evolve from the principles which these latter held, the conclusions they want themselves, both excuse the clumsy statements of earlier writers, by supposing that they wrote incautiously, because the heresies necessary to put them on their guard were not yet in existence<sup>b</sup>. If Cyril is shy of the fanciful abominations of Origen, Augustine also has parted company with the sour materialist Tertullian<sup>c</sup>. It is not these early Fathers upon whom they base their doctrine so much as upon their own more immediate predecessors. Those philosophers did much no doubt to establish a general belief in revelation in a heathen world, and even helped their more saintly cotemporaries in setting forward some distinctly Christian doctrines. But it is to the writers of Arian times, to whom we are indebted for the first clear statements about the divine attributes. Atha-

<sup>b</sup> What Cyril says of the use of *κράσις*, c. Nest. p. 15. c. and what Augustine says above, cap. 7. v. fin. are instances of this.

<sup>c</sup> Aug. de animâ et ej. or. ii. 9. *Incorporeum* Deum esse quod credit gratulor eum *hinc* saltem a Tertulliani deliramentis esse discretum. Epist. 190. §. 14. Si Tertulliani opinionem sequuntur profecto eas (animas) non spiritus sed corpora esse contendunt.... Neque hoc T. somniasse mirandum qui

etiam ipsum creatorem, &c. de Gen. ad lit. x. cap. 25. In his de Hæres. §. 85. one of his last works, he appears to excuse him, but all he says is, that this was not why he was called a heretic—it might have been explained away, i. e., if other things did not shew him a heretic. But the fact, that Fulgentius, de Præd. et G. iii. 21. makes Tertullian a materialist, is good reason to conclude, that this was also St. Austin's final opinion of him.

nasius, Ephrem, Basil<sup>d</sup>, Hilary, Ambrose, and the Gregories, while they make it clear how these attributes are manifold to us, yet one in God, also develop a number of positions as to the nature of created spirits, and the characteristics which distinguish even the highest of them from God. But the nature of man, his attributes, whether as he originally existed, or as he was when he had fallen, in a word, his capacities as a created, fallen, and re-created being, these were questions upon which the opinion of the Church was first elicited by the Pelagian and Nestorian controversy. Of St. Augustine's labours in this respect, it is needless to speak: but to St. Cyril, says Petavius, "it seems to have been given from on high, that he should both in mind comprehend, and in language declare, that supreme and most august union of the divine Word with man's nature, more accurately than the others, and in explicating that subsequent and infinitely inferior junction of the Spirit with the souls of the saints, should have an equally lordly capacity both of soul and of writing<sup>e</sup>."

4. If such be the position of St. Cyril in the succession of doctors, it becomes desirable to state some principles which may enable the reader to see, whether the doctrine of St. Cyril agrees in substance with that of St. Austin. There are indeed passages in earlier writers, where that very advance in grace and wisdom, which is spoken of in this work as a symptom of Nestorianism, seems to be ascribed to Christ's human nature. But Cyril and Augustine

<sup>d</sup> Basil perhaps was the clearest author upon the subject of *ἐπίνοια*, or mental distinction of things in reality inseverable.

His fondness for Plato gives an interest to several passages of the Republic.

• De Trin. viii. 7. §. 12.

are cotemporaries, and may be expected (it will be urged) to agree. I may be expected to adduce from Cyril, at least, as clear passages as from Augustine, to shew the particular, definite, point so needful for this work, viz. that Christ's human soul was full of grace and truth from the first; to shew not that the compound Person Christ was full of grace and truth, without saying whether this fulness attaches to his human or his divine nature, but that the human nature was full thereof. As for those earlier writers, it is not indeed the business of this book to prove the uniformity of tradition from the first, but to shew the consistency of Church teaching, without discussing whether it comes from tradition, or where it comes from. These are two very different problems: for a man may have uniformly held two conflicting principles all his life, but consistently he could not hold them: and the same might be the case with a corporate body, such as the Church may appear to any but the faithful. Or, (to use another illustration,) if a man objected to the Jewish monarchy as inconsistent with the Mosaical law, to cite the provision for a king contained in that law, would not be to shew how it was consistent with that law. Nevertheless, in either case a person able to prove the existence of such provision would have done something towards making another believe that the farther and subsequent system was consistent. A uniformity of intention in the lawgiver's mind would create a probability of a consistency also: when we believe him sent from God, it proves there must be, somehow, such consistency: but even this does not shew to us how precisely that consistency can be made out.

5. Now if it can be shewn, that *to speak as if*

Christ advanced in grace and knowledge, is not tantamount to a denial that he was full of grace and knowledge from the first, then it will have been shewn, that Augustine's exemption of Christ's soul from ignorance is no novel doctrine. If what has been just mentioned can be shewn, much less will Cyril's real or supposed omission to state, whether it is the soul of Christ in particular, or his divine nature, that contains the fulness of grace and truth, tell at all against St. Austin's doctrine on this subject. Again, St. Austin's doctrine upon the predestination of Christ makes no appearance in the pages of St. Cyril. This is a phenomenon, which requires to be explained as well as the former. This paragraph, then, contains a statement of the subjects which we have to consider in the following chapters.

6. It will contribute much to clearness, to say something here upon the correlativeness of grace and knowledge. Heathen writers indeed could observe, that intellectual and moral excellence had some sort of relationship to each other, and that the prosecution or dereliction of mere natural virtues exercised a refining or degrading influence upon the reasoning powers. But in supernatural virtues, this is much more the case. To deny that faith can exist without charity, is indeed heretical: but it would be as great an error almost to suppose, that they could coexist in one mind without giving strength to each other. They are in a great measure coordinates. "It is difficult for a man to live ill who believes well," says St. Austin: and elsewhere he says, "where men do not believe well of God, they live ill<sup>f</sup>." The two are naturally and ordinarily connected, though sometimes a stubborn faith and a

<sup>f</sup> Aug. Serm. xlix. §. 2. De Civit. Dei, v. 10. §. 2.



bad life go together. But if faith, which has relation to knowledge, can subsist without that grace which has relation to love, love can hardly subsist without knowledge. "You have an unction from the Holy," says St. John, "and know all things." In this text (without discussing its precise meaning) it is plain, that the internal unction (though conveyed doubtless by the chrism<sup>g</sup>) is spoken of as communicating knowledge. And the more perfect the unction is, the more perfect the knowledge would be. An unction from God which conveyed all manner of graces and powers without wisdom correlative to them, would be dangerous in proportion to the magnitude of those graces. If God has in some cases allowed such dangers to exist, that does not destroy the truth of this observation. As in things moral, a perfect justice implies a perfect prudence, so in things spiritual, a perfect grace implies a perfect wisdom to dispense it: as advance in justice would imply advance in prudence, so advance in grace would imply advance in wisdom. When once a final status is arrived at, the two would cease to be measures of each other: no moral change would take place in devils<sup>h</sup> or angels, if they learnt something new by the Incarnation, because they have arrived at a state where change is no longer possible. But place any nature in a state in which change is possible, and, ordinarily speaking, its grace will be the measure of its wisdom, and its wisdom of its grace; if the one was in perfection, then the other would be. The measure of the knowledge of Christ's soul, then, would be the measure of his grace, and conversely the measure of his grace would be that

<sup>g</sup> 1 Jo. ii. 20. August. in loc. §. 5.

<sup>h</sup> See Petav. de Ang. i. 8. §. 11. Noris, vol. i. p. 1461.

of his knowledge. "Having made a human soul his own, he made it superior to sin, colouring it, as it were wool with a dye, with the fixedness and unchangeableness of his own nature<sup>i</sup>." When he was full of wisdom, then he was also full of grace. This then shall be taken for granted for the future, not because it is impossible to raise any objection to it, but because it is sufficiently certain, when we believe the hypostatic union, for all practical purposes. It shall be assumed, that those texts of Scripture, or the Fathers, which speak as if Christ advanced in wisdom, speak also as if he advanced in grace, and may be met by the same explanation.

7. In this country, where there is little or no respect felt by the generality for the schoolmen, it would be useless to bring forward all their subtle objections. It may, however, not be so hopeless a task to say something concerning the position of the great Father now before us, inasmuch as the Fathers were in some measure situated like ourselves, and had to deal with realities, and not with those scholastic possibilities, the very name of which will remind the Greek scholar of leisure, rather than of combat<sup>k</sup>. From this necessity of fighting with realities, came the necessity also of writing with reference to the existing state of things. As the brave man appears rash to the coward, so orthodoxy, which is a mean between two opposite heresies, will

<sup>i</sup> Cyril, de Recta Fide, p. 17. e.

<sup>k</sup> Some of the questions in Spanish schoolmen may dispose some to say of Spain what Aristotle said of Egypt; *ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἀφείθη σχολάζειν τὸ τῶν ἱερέων ἔθνος*. Meta. i. 1. Petavius, whose founder enjoined

respect for scholastic theology, did not feel himself thereby obliged to hoodwink himself to what is here alluded to. An excellent Essay of Muzzarelli's, (vol. i. opusc. 4. on 'Theologia,') may be referred to here for information on this subject.

to the heterodox appear to favour the heresy contrary to his own. The orthodox writer who is conscious of this, has therefore to write in some measure with a view to local heresies, and so to shape his words that they may serve to thwart the errors of his own time, and also of his own country. Hence, to understand a writer against any heresy, we must have some knowledge of its opposite, of the actual state of that opposite at the time, and of its past stages. Cyril was accused by the Nestorian party of favouring Apollinarian, Arian, and even Eunomian or ultra-Arian tenets. Each of these heresies, especially the two former, shifted about so much, as to make it uncertain at this distance of time, what particular phase of them it was that he had to guard against the appearance of favouring.

8. Now Cyril himself has told us most distinctly, that the Arians say that the Word became a man, but that he employed a soul-less body. This, he says, "they do with a crafty intention, that by dealing to him the human words, they may exhibit him, as if inferior to the Father's preeminence, to those who are deceived by them<sup>1</sup>." This device of the Arians induced the Fathers to put every thing which was attributed to the human nature forward in its strongest light: they used certain expressions of Scripture as if they were intended to serve as modes of conveying to us the fact, that Christ had a human nature, rather than the doctrine that this human nature was in such and such a state in him. Hence they spoke themselves as if Christ advanced in grace and knowledge, having for their object at the time to assert that he had a human nature; and they used a rough way of doing so, calculated to make the people they were dealing with

<sup>1</sup> Epist. ad Success. p. 149. e.

feel this truth. Much as Scripture uses a rough way of expressing that God is just, when it speaks of him as jealous, revengeful, and angry. Yet in neither case does it follow that the words used are a fair exponent of the writer's own view of the matter.

9. And while upon this subject, it is worth observing by the way, that there was a certain phase of Arianism, which represented the Son himself as incapable of change. It is possible that this might have been an evasion introduced to meet the arguments, by which the Nicene Fathers had shewn the unchangeableness of the Word. "But you, (says St. Austin, writing against an Arian,) *according to your heresy*, [as if it was the Arian view of that day,] will have it, that it is in the form of God that the Father is greater than the Son, and so you grudge him his Father's form, because, as you will have it, the reason why the Son was born perfect with an *eternal perfection*, is, lest he should have it in his power to arrive at least by growth at his Father's form<sup>m</sup>." And again: "You say that the Son of God was so born less than the Father as never to grow and arrive even by growth at his Father's magnitude<sup>n</sup>." This phase of Arianism, which will explain what is meant, when the holy Fathers speak of Arians as making the Father envious<sup>o</sup>, will also shew that there might be a danger of being unfairly mistaken, even in insisting upon the unchangeableness imparted by the Word to his human soul. The Arian Word, and indeed the Apollinarian also, acted as the soul of their Christ. When it was necessary for Cyril to

<sup>m</sup> cont. Maxim. Arian. ii. 25.  
1. and 10. and 18. 4.

<sup>n</sup> Serm. 139. §. 3.

<sup>o</sup> See note on St. Ephrem,

p. 121. f. Cyril, Dial. p. 524.  
confirms the statement there  
made as to Plato.

speaking of the perfect and unchanging nature of the hypostatic union, it opened a door to Nestorian malice, to accuse him of belonging to or favouring one or other phase of these ever shifting heresies. Say he was full of grace and truth in his human nature from the first, and you risk being held up to the ill-informed, as making the Word his soul. Speak as if he advanced in grace and knowledge; the Nestorian will say, if you are not one of us, you belong to the worst school of Arians—or they might say, either allow two persons with us, or you are running into Apollinarianism. It was needful for earlier writers to exhibit the human nature of Christ, as mentally severed from and out of union with God, in order to furnish a receptacle for those attributes which Arian blasphemers falsely ascribed to the unchangeable Word. But if Cyril was elected to be the great doctor of the unity of Christ's Person, it was needful for him to represent the human nature in all those phases, in which, from its union with the divine, it was entirely incapable of any intrinsic advance. And as all truths cannot be enunciated at once, St. Cyril in the eyes of heretics might have appeared to be maintaining the heresy opposed to their own.

10. But some persons may demur to what is here said, and reply, 'we allow that if the anti-Arian writers were excusable for speaking in this way of the human nature, much more was St. Cyril for not discussing explicitly the knowledge of our Saviour's human soul: but we do not feel disposed to believe or allow that those Fathers used any such evasion as is here suggested.' Let us see then what will come of denying to them this right. The Pelagian Julian said, that St. Jerome was not content to attribute natural,

i. e. original, sin, but also ascribed actual sin and a lie to Christ. St. Jerome's words point so plainly to those passages of holy writ, where this mode of stating things is justified, that they shall be quoted. "He says to his brethren and relations, that he is not going to the feast of the tabernacles. Yet when his brethren were gone up to the feast, then he himself went up to the feast, not openly, but as it were secretly. He said he would not go, and did that, which he at first said he would not do. At this Porphyry barks, and accuses him of changeableness and inconstancy, not knowing that all scandals were to be referred to the flesh <sup>p</sup>." Now nobody can suppose that St. Jerome really thought that the flesh of that mouth, in which no guile was found, could have uttered a lie, a sentiment which he elsewhere anathematized <sup>q</sup>. What he means must be, that the human nature of Christ might fairly exhibit itself as if enthralled by our weakness, in order to prove its own reality. To be circumcised, implies a need of being put in covenant with God: to receive the baptism of repentance, implies sins to repent of: to say, not my will but thine be done, implies an actual opposition of will to the Father's, whose will he knew he always did <sup>r</sup>. Yet these things shew in Christ a real human nature, though, as it existed in fact in him, it did not need what they seem to imply. The infidel Porphyry argued from things intended to shew that a mutable nature was in Christ, that Christ was mutable. When some persons argue from the Fathers speaking of Christ as capable of advance, that therefore he was

<sup>p</sup> Ap. Aug. Op. imp. iv. 88.  
and 121. Hieron. Dial. ii. §.  
17. See also i. §. 20.

<sup>q</sup> Vide Vallars. ad loc.  
Hieron.  
<sup>r</sup> Jo. viii. 29.

held by them to be *de facto* capable of it, they argue in a similar way.

11. But moreover there is a great advantage in the way, in which the Fathers mentally suspend the hypostatic union, and speak of Christ's human nature, as it was in itself, and not as it was in him. That advantage is this: they furnish thereby a strong testimony to their implicit belief in St. Austin's doctrine, that the merits arose from the union, and not the union from the merits. In mind they at times sever the two natures: when thus supposed to be severed, they refer 'all scandals,' to use Jerome's word, to the inferior nature. Whatever passages were stumbling-blocks to Arians against admitting the divinity of Christ, had a scope given them in his human nature viewed merely as a nature. But it by no means follows, that the Fathers held that these 'scandals' could be referred, or that they were referred by them, to that nature, considered as existing in that Person. They then who made such a distinction, who made the nature in itself capable of change, though in Christ they might make it incapable of it, in fact make its merits dependent upon the union, and not the union upon its merits. I am not saying that they had this specific object distinctly before their minds at the time, but that they felt it, and acted unconsciously upon it.

12. Now if Cyril spoke as if the wisdom of our Lord was a divine wisdom only, it may have been, because he felt so keenly that the union was so perfect, as to impress at once all such communicable attributes upon the sacred soul of our Redeemer, as did not interfere with the perfection of his humanity. He is not unlikely to have anticipated what Nestorians would say of him, but in his zeal to maintain

the unity of Christ's Person, to have set them at defiance. Apollinaris too, among other modes of recommending his theory, seems to have contended, that it was the only one which would explain how Christ could be holy and wise from the first<sup>a</sup>. And it is unlikely that Cyril should not have been aware of this, as also of certain Arian speculations of a kindred tendency. But he knew also perfectly well, that Nestorius made his Christ to have what he esteemed a perfect, though not an hypostatic, union in the womb of Mary<sup>t</sup>. Hence the style of expression, which Cyril had been in the habit of using when combating Arians, would serve also against Nestorius. Had he said ever so much about the gifts and graces which the Word had conferred on the soul he created in union with himself, he would, in a manner, have done nothing against Nestorius. That view of the soul of Christ, which regarded it solely as in union with the Word, which looked at it when in this union, as belonging to a course of nature which was its own singular course of nature, and considered its united state as the natural state of that divine soul in particular, that view, in fine, which looked to the reality existing in that 'nature,' (as he even termed it,) and did not sever it mentally or ideally for the purposes of theological science: that was the view ever before the mind of St. Cyril. When driven to it by the necessity of caution, or led to it by charity towards others, or goaded to it by the calumnies of the Oriental party, then he turned round, and shewed how distinctly he felt, that there were two natures in Christ. But what he loved was, to gaze at the Union itself: "in the nature of the Word and his

<sup>a</sup> See Greg. Nyssen. c. Apol.      <sup>t</sup> Vide Garnier's Diss. de p. 542. c—e. Galland. vol. vi. Nestorio, vol. ii. p. 286.



humanity," he says, "the difference of natures is the only thing to mark a difference. For one out of both is the Christ we contemplate. Therefore having observed right well this inconfusedness, [St. John] says, the Word dwelt in us: for he knows, that it is one only-begotten Son who became flesh and man<sup>a</sup>." Nestorius, on the contrary, avoided for the most part calling God the Son, as such, any thing but 'the Word;' he loved to keep the term Son for his Christ, that by so doing he might be able to tell the simple, that he did not divide Christ into two sons, and seem to be using orthodox language, while the poison of the wily serpent was in his heart. He knew right well, that people would recoil from hearing of two sons, and this therefore was his artifice to deprive Mary of the dignity of being Mother of God. Cyril, on the contrary, feeling that the salvation of man depended upon the divinity of the Person who had taken our nature, loves to dwell upon that union which made God the Son of Mary. "Paul," he says, "gazing upon the preeminence of the divinity, dares at times, though he knew the Word had become flesh, to say occasionally, that he is not man. For to the Galatians he writes as follows: 'Paul an apostle, not from men, nor through man, *but* through Jesus Christ;' and elsewhere, 'I make you to know the Gospel which was preached by me, that it is not according to man; for I did not receive it from, nor was I taught it by, man, *but* through the revelation of Jesus Christ<sup>b</sup>.'"

13. This then being, as it were, the final cause, why the grace of the doctorate was conferred upon

<sup>a</sup> Schol. de Incarn. ap. Merc. ii. p. 237.

<sup>b</sup> Rectâ Fide, p. 26. b. Cassian. de Inc. lib. iii. p. 1150. makes the same use of the passage.

St. Cyril from on high, viz. to establish the Unity of Mary's Son's Person; it will be easier to see why some definite statements, that might have been expected from him, are yet not made by him. He does not state with that frequency, definiteness, and precision, which some of Nestorius's arguments seem at first sight to require, that the human soul our Lord took was full of a created or imparted wisdom from the first, but rather speaks of his divine wisdom only. This is the difficulty which is here admitted fully and fairly: and one reason has been alleged in explanation of it, which is this, that his apostleship of the union (so to call it) led him to gaze upon the two natures as they went to make up one Person, in that oneness which the singleness of Christ's Person gave them, in that perichoresis or circumincession, as it has been called, which made "each form, the human and the divine, do what belonged to it not without the fellowship of the other<sup>x</sup>."

14. So tenacious of this doctrine of Cyril were some of the Bishops at Chalcedon, that they even demurred about signing Leo's epistle to Flavian, because they fancied that in some passages it divided Christ<sup>y</sup>. Other reasons will be adduced for this in the next chapter but one: the next chapter itself will be devoted to an attempt to shew the intrinsic agreement between St. Cyril and St. Austin: the remainder of this shall exhibit in a few quotations

<sup>x</sup> Leo. Epist. ad Flav. cap. iv. Agit enim utraque forma cum alterius communione quod proprium est.

<sup>y</sup> Hard. ii. p. 402. e. Sed et lecta nobis epistola. . . Leonis in plurimis recte habens, et

prædictis (actis C. Ephesini) consonans, et consentiens. Aliqua autem nobis ex ipsa obstiterunt verba ut partitionem et separationem aliquam demonstrantia, etc. But the legates explained.

the mode of speaking on St. Cyril above alluded to. They are taken from his commentary on St. John, which though principally written with an eye to the Eunomian or ultra-Arian heresy, was yet written at a time when the vigilant\* patriarch was acquainted with the heresies both of Nestorius and Pelagius. For not only do the numerous passages therein contained concerning the Eucharist and original sin attest this, but the following clear testimony shews that the work was written when Nestorianism had begun to exist, though Nestorius is not mentioned by name in it. "Already, he says, have *some* of those even who seem to be Christians, not understanding accurately the scope of the economy with the flesh, dared to sever from God the Word the temple which was taken for our sakes from a woman, and have cut into a pair of sons him who is the one and real Son: and that he became man—this through their utter phrensy it seems they disdain to confess, which the Only-begotten did not disdain for our sakes even to do<sup>a</sup>." But to proceed to the quotations.

15. "The Angels, howbeit they much excel us, and have a position far more advantageous for continuance in virtue than we, yet have not kept their first estate. For since some even of them were wholly cast down from that estate, and fell into sin, the nature of reasonable creatures in its entirety is convicted of being capable of sin, and unable to keep

\* St. Celestine in his Epistle to Cyril, Hard. i. 1322. d. gratulamur tantum inesse sanctitati tuæ *vigilantiam*, ut decessorum tuorum, qui et ipsi semper defensores orthodoxi dogmatis extiterunt, exempla jam *viceris*.

<sup>a</sup> p. 631. c. This occurs

about the middle of the work: and afterwards, (e. g. p. 747. d. p. 762. e. &c.) but not, I think, before similar allusions occur. It may be added, that the Commentary on St. John was written after the Thesaurus, which he quotes at the beginning of the Comm. p. 54. c.

clear of a change for the worse. But the living creature upon earth, that is endued with reason and like its God, has not been a long time in falling, but fell in Adam, the first man. So then it is a thing altogether denied to the creatures to be unalterable and unchanging, and to be capable of keeping by nature in one stay; for this will fit on to him only who *is verily God*. And this is clearly displayed in the Son; for he did no sin, (as Peter saith,) nor was guile found in his mouth. Therefore he was God and the Son of God, by nature incapable of sinning, or being changed<sup>b</sup>." If this passage were not explained by the quotation given above, it might be possible to wrest it to an Apollinarian meaning: it seems to leave out the soul upon which God had imprinted his own unchangeableness: and the same might be said of those which follow. "Of John, it says, 'he shall be filled with the Holy Spirit,' because to him the Holy Spirit was a thing given, and not inherent in his essence. But of the Saviour he does not go on to say, 'he shall be filled,' minding well what he said therein, but that Holy which is being born of thee,—not adding any '*shall be*,' for he was always this, *as being God*." Where he presently after notices, that when Christ receives the Spirit, he receives it as man, yet not as if he received it into his Person first upon his Incarnation, or at his Baptism, as some 'senseless heretics' had said<sup>d</sup>. And in another place; 'Why is charity said to be the mark of being a disciple of Christ, and why was every species of virtue displayed in him, though it was not given to him out of goodness, nor as in man's case, got together by labour or application, but as what came to his own nature? For these belong

<sup>b</sup> p. 531. c. comp. p. 539. b.  
p. 564. e. p. 864. d. above, p. 153.

<sup>c</sup> p. 125. b.  
<sup>d</sup> p. 126. e. p. 127. c.

as properties to the Divine Nature<sup>e</sup>." And soon after: "No one hath greater charity than this, that he lay down his life for his friends. For since God is love, as John says, being the Son of Love, that is, of him, who is by nature God, he himself also hath been shewn to be love . . . by his very deeds and actions shewing himself to have the fruit of his Father's substance in him. For we shall not think surely that the highest Essence of all is capable of accepting good gifts, or that the form of aught that is good is in it acquired from without, as in us<sup>f</sup>." Here the very suffering of the flesh is ascribed to that love, which is the essence of God and which must have been infused into the human Nature to enable it so to suffer. So also of the foreknowledge of Christ he says, when commenting on the words, 'That which thou doest, do quickly;' "the disciples do not know the force of this saying, probably because Christ in his wise economy did not reveal it to them; for, in other cases, we find that he teaches them beforehand, that he will be betrayed into the hands of sinners, &c. &c. pledging them, however, not to speak of any of these things to any one. In this his object was to prevent the ruler of this world<sup>g</sup>, [Satan,] from finding who he really was by nature, that he might go and be crucified, and so destroy death, and bring to issue salvation for those who believed in him. So he conceals by a wise economy the chief of what was said. For, *as being God*, he knew what was the best course to adopt in all cases<sup>h</sup>. So also, "He foretels to the disciple his denial of himself, which he knew, *as God*, would certainly and unquestionably take place<sup>i</sup>." "He that knows things

<sup>e</sup> p. 752. b.<sup>h</sup> p. 741-2.<sup>f</sup> p. 753. c.<sup>i</sup> p. 759. d.<sup>g</sup> cf. on St. Ephrem, p. 135. c.

to come, how can he be else than God<sup>k</sup>." And of his answering the thoughts of the disciples occasioned by his words, "A little while," &c. he says. "Again he shews, that, *as God*, he knew the hearts, and what was still in the mind stirring there, and buried in the depth of the heart<sup>l</sup>." "*Being true God*, and looking at the movements of the heart . . . how could he fail to know the thoughts about the mystery of the cross which at that time most disturbed her<sup>m</sup>," his Mother. Again, of Magdalen being forbid to touch him, he says, "The divine nature could not ever be tainted<sup>n</sup> by a touch." "Since he is *life by nature*, he loosed the power of death, and came to life again<sup>o</sup>."

16. These passages will at least serve to shew that mode of speaking in St. Cyril which was noticed above. So intensely present was the unity of Christ's Person to him, that he seems in them to pass over the human soul, and content himself with ascribing to the divine nature the intelligent and sensitive operations of God in the flesh. In writing against Arians, he uses operations done in and by a human nature, but which could not be done by that nature without its union with the divine, as proofs of the presence of the divine nature. It was not necessary in writing against these heretics to determine whether the divine power, in speaking, manifested itself through the soul or through the body, and so the soul is but little spoken of. How far this was necessary in controverting Nestorius, will be considered by and by.

<sup>k</sup> p. 915. d.

<sup>l</sup> p. 933. e. Comp. Aust. Ep. 147. 14. on 'nemo scit quid agatur in homine,' &c. 1 Cor. ii. 11. Nemo utique, sed hominum, neque enim hoc de *Deo*

accipi potest, cum de *Christo* scriptum sit non opus fuisse, &c. John ii. 25.

<sup>m</sup> p. 1066. c.

<sup>n</sup> p. 1084. c.

<sup>o</sup> p. 1093. b.

## CHAP. IX.

## ST. CYRIL CONSIDERED AS A DOCTOR OF GRACE.

1. WHEN the influence of Nestorians had induced the emperor to get together a council at Ephesus, this unwieldy body, composed of heterogeneous parts, might have done great mischief, had not the Pope of the day breathed into it a living soul, by placing St. Cyril at the head of it. It has seldom been the case that the same doctor has had to do what St. Augustine had entrusted to him to do, viz. to combat two opposite heresies. Manicheism and Pelagianism were not more apparently opposed to each other than Nestorianism and Eutychianism. It is the policy of the devil to appear to be casting out Satan, whereas all heresies are in reality opposed to that orthodoxy, which externally appears to be the mean between two diametrically opposed errors. He therefore who is on God's side will always be as opposed to one heresy as to its opposite: if his words be at times capable of being distorted to a heretical sound, his meaning will on the whole prove to be orthodox, and orthodox too even against the heresy which is the very opposite of that one which he is combating. As time went on, it came to light that there was a wonderful and deepseated unity of principle in heresies upon the Incarnation apparently most opposite. Hence there was also but one antagonistic principle capable of casting out Satan.

St. Austin has a Sermon<sup>a</sup>, to shew that all heresies at bottom deny that the Word was made flesh, and among these even the schism of the Donatists finds its place. St. Cyril, then, when he enthroned Mary in her most glorious and radical title, ‘Mother of God,’ and thereby expressed the Catholic doctrine of the Incarnation, aimed a fatal blow at all heresies. It is not too much to say, that he who saw all that is implied in this title and held to this firmly, would thereby be exempted from all error. “Rejoice, O Virgin Mary,” says the Church, “thou alone hast destroyed all heresies throughout the whole world.” Rejoice, O patriarch of Alexandria, may it be permitted us to say, thou hast laid the foundation of Mary’s honour, and the heel of the serpent shall not prevail against it!

2. The very next heresy which occasioned the calling together of a general council, shews the truth of this statement. That heresy concerned the reality of our Saviour’s *flesh*: and it is distinctly and explicitly and earnestly to be observed, that it has the strongest family likeness to a heresy, which began by denying the reality of Christ’s soul, and putting the Godhead into hypostatic union with the body of a brute<sup>b</sup>. This being clearly and steadily kept before us, we shall see that there is nothing in the Eutychian

<sup>a</sup> Serm. 183. Part of what he says of the Donatist may be added here. §. 9. Donatistæ plurimi hoc confitentur de Filio quod nos, quod æqualis sit Patri Filius, ejusdemque substantia. Alii vero eorum ejusdem quidem substantiæ confitentur, sed æqualem negant . . . Illi autem confitentur Deum se nosse sed factis negant. Quid est, negare

factis? Superbire et schismata facere, non in Deo, sed in homine gloriari. Ita factis negatur Christus: unitatem quippe amat Christus.”

<sup>b</sup> Greg. Nyss. c. Apoll. ap. Galland. vi. p. 538. b. August. in Jo. tr. xlvii. §. 8. Dederunt ei animam pecoris, subtraxerunt hominis. Leont. de Sect. p. 507. b.



controversy eminently calculated to elicit the Church's sentiments as to the state of Christ's *soul*, though it might be brought back to that subject. If the same can be shewn to be capable, in a great measure, of being said of Nestorianism in its early phases, of course a great point will have been gained for the purposes of this book. This will be attempted in the next chapter. At present I shall content myself with observing, that as for any clear and explicit denials of ignorance attaching to our Lord's soul, such as that quoted above from St. Austin, I do not see them in the great anti-Eutychian doctor, St. Leo.

3. To return, however, to the title of Mother of God, and to shew that it tells as much against Eutychians as against Nestorians. If God had a Mother, it could only be by his taking his flesh from her: no one takes his soul from his mother. In the comparison of Christ with Melchizedek, one of the points mentioned is, that Melchizedek is without father and without mother. Christ is like him then, according to the ancient doctors<sup>c</sup>, if he has two births, one in time without a father, and the other in eternity without a mother. Hence, he who calls Mary Mother of God, implies that he has these two births, one by virtue of which he is man, the other by virtue of which he is God. This use of the title was clearly seen and pointed out by Cyril himself, in his letter to John of Antioch, on his conversion from Nestorianism. "We have glorified God the Saviour of all, rejoicing with one another, he says, that the Churches with you as well as those with us have a faith which agrees with the inspired Scriptures, and the tradition

<sup>c</sup> Lactant. iv. 13. Didym. de Merc. ii. p. 7. Nazianz. p. 613. c. Trin. p. 32. Cassian, p. 1287. Aug. Sermon. in Nativ. i. §. 3.

of our holy Fathers. But, as I am informed, that some of those that are fond of finding fault, are buzzing round you like fierce wasps, and vomiting their mischievous reports against me, as if I said that the sacred body of Christ was brought down from heaven, and was not from the holy Virgin, I have thought fit to say somewhat in reply to them upon this point. Senseless creatures, skilled in nothing but calumniating, however came you to be led away with a notion like this, and to be deceived with so great a folly? Why, surely you might have seen plainly enough, that pretty well the whole battle which we had made against us for the faith was, from our strongly maintaining that the Holy Virgin was God's Mother. Now if we had said that the holy body of Christ, the Saviour of us all, was born from heaven and not from her, in what sense could she any longer be conceived to be Mother of God? For whom did she bring forth at all, if it is not according to the flesh that it is true, that she is Mother of Immanuel? Let those therefore who give vent to this nonsense about me, be received with laughter<sup>d</sup>."

4. This use of the title Theotocos, or Mother of God, will be put in a stronger light by the following testimonies to St. Cyril. Joannes Egeota, a Nestorian priest, said of the council, not of Ephesus, but of Chalcedon, that it was altogether Cyrillian<sup>e</sup>. Eutyches himself, when examined in the council of Constantinople, says, "Up to this day I never said that the body of our Lord and God was consubstantial with us; but I confess that the holy Virgin was consubstantial with us, and that our God took flesh out of her<sup>f</sup>:" and then it was urged, that if he

<sup>d</sup> ap. Hard. vol. i. p. 1704. d.

<sup>f</sup> Hard. ii. p. 163.

<sup>e</sup> ap. Leont. de Sectis ix.

admitted the one was consubstantial, he ought to allow that the other was; thus shewing, that, when forced, he could not honestly accept the title Mother of God. This, says the vigilant Eusebius of Dorylæum, of the words of the Creed de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria Virgine, ‘this Eutyches has left out as being an Apollinarian: for Apollinaris receives the Holy Synod of Nicæa, taking in his own illicit sense what is said, and he avoids the words, ‘of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary,’ that he may not have any where to confess the union with the flesh. For the holy Fathers after this time explained the ‘incarnatus est,’ which the holy Fathers of Nicæa had said, by saying, ‘of the Holy Ghost and of the Virgin Mary<sup>g</sup>.’” The selfsame Fathers who had been present at Chalcedon, allow, that all doubt about Theodoret’s repentance is taken away, when among other things he has anathematized those who deny the Virgin to be the Mother of God<sup>h</sup>, which title they elsewhere say was the thing decided in Ephesus, and ratified in writing<sup>i</sup>.

5. Many passages might be cited from antiquity, in which the use of this title appears. But one from John II. in the West, and one from St. Maximus in the East, will be sufficient to have cited here. “Because the Son of God,” says the former, “was properly and truly incarnate from her, therefore do we confess her properly and truly to be the Mother of that God who was incarnate, and born from her; [properly] that it may not be believed that the Lord Jesus received the name of God in the way of an

<sup>g</sup> Hard. ii. p. 99. a. This addition was made at Constantinople. See *ibid.* p. 648. e. (where is another testimony to the use of Theotocos,) Catalani ad Ecumen. i. p. 154.  
<sup>h</sup> p. 498. c.  
<sup>i</sup> p. 649. a.

honour, or a grace, as the foolish Nestorius thought: and truly, lest it should be believed that he took a phantom, or in any way an unreal flesh, from the Virgin, as the impious Eutyches asserted<sup>k</sup>." And St. Maximus to the same effect says: "We confess that the holy and all-glorious Virgin was properly and truly Mother of God, as having been made the Mother, not of any mere man who was created separately, for as long as even the twinkling of an eye before his union with the Word, or became God by advance in good works, and from his pre-eminence in virtue; but as truly Mother of God the Word himself, one of the Persons of the Holy Trinity, who from her took flesh by an unutterable conception, and became truly man<sup>l</sup>."

6. To this may be added, that Cyril himself was perhaps the first to point out the hiding-place for Eutychian errors, which the expressions 'mixture,' 'blending<sup>m</sup>,' and the like, afforded. The Codex Encyclicus, or collection of letters in favour of the council of Chalcedon, (whose consentient authority Pelagius II. calls a light as it were to the world<sup>n</sup>,) has many testimonies to St. Cyril's services. That from the Bishops of Isauria puts the matter so well as to deserve to be quoted. "The Fathers (of Ephesus), moved by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, thought fit to call forth, in order to arraign their [the Nestorians] madness, the most pious tongue of the blessed Cyril, who of old while he

<sup>k</sup> Hard. ii. p. 1152. b.

<sup>l</sup> Maxim. ii. p. 287.

<sup>m</sup> c. Nestor. p. 15. c. *κατα-  
κέχρηται δὲ τῇ λέξει τὴν εἰς ἄκρον  
ἐνωσιν τῶν ἀλλήλοις συμβεβηκότων  
καταδηλοῦν σπουδάζοντες.* Apol.

p. 178. d. p. 187. c. ad Success.  
i. p. 136. e. in Ephesin. p. 1705,  
&c. The word, however, con-  
tinued in use long after. See  
on St. Ephrem, p. 34. g.

<sup>n</sup> Hard. iii. p. 422, 423.

governed the Alexandrian Church, and openly contended against the madness of Nestorius, and was to the blessed Celestine, the pastor of the peerless Church of Rome, associate against the blasphemy of Nestorius in the former Council of Ephesus, shone forth as the greatest champion in defence of the faith: seeing that from one fountain, and with the same words by him put together, he dashed the blasphemy of Nestorius; and against the tares of the mischievous sect of Eutyches, which were then for some time budding forth, though as yet not distinctly beheld, he most distinctly furnished beforehand the sickle that should mow them down<sup>o</sup>. Even Leo himself recommends the reading of Cyril's discourse as well as his own, as a remedy for Eutychianism<sup>p</sup>.

7. Such was the importance of the title, Mother of God, as an expression of the doctrine of the Incarnation. It was natural for the Church to use frequently a title so calculated to keep the true doctrine before men's eyes: it is to the Incarnation, what the 'Gloria Patri' is to the Trinity. Hence almost every Office of the Church has this title of Mary's in it: all prayers and devotions, private or public, abound in it. If St. Cyril were to come among us now, he would little relish a Church such as the Establishment, which has cast out as an abomination this glorious expression of the true doctrine: he would think they who had not this ancient title, used as he says by all the Fathers<sup>q</sup>, were undoubtedly Nestorians, and leave them. Those

<sup>o</sup> Ap. Hard. ii. p. 722.

<sup>p</sup> Epist. 129. §. 2.

<sup>q</sup> Ad Reginas, p. 47. d. Theoph. ibid. p. 52. e. See Newman on Athan. p. 420. i.

who shews the antiquity of this title, and John of Antioch, ap. Fac. Herm. vii. 5. Mingarelli on Didymus de Trin. p. 94. p. 133. Assem. B. O. iv. p. 397-8.

who believe the Incarnation, would be as reluctant to part with this title, as those who profess to believe the doctrine of the Trinity would be to part with the 'Gloria Patri.' God died for all, but not before he was Mary's Son.

8. But without pressing any further here his services against Eutyches and Nestorius, let us proceed to consider, whether St. Cyril does not exhibit upon close inspection a strong testimony to some of those doctrines, for the preaching of which St. Austin is chiefly celebrated. Now the immense number of instances in which he teaches the doctrine of original sin make it credible, that he feared something analogous to Celestianism, as distinguished from Pelagianism among his own flock<sup>r</sup>. It is possible that the effects of Origen's theory of preexistence was what he had in view, and that he was desirous, by frequently stating that our race sinned in Adam, and fell through him, to put in a protest against any idea of a former existence, as a mode of accounting for man's present condition. But it should be observed, that the branch of Pelagianism most to be dreaded in the East, was the assertion of human merit; that branch, namely, which is not so much obviated by disavowing Celestianism, as by stating and proving man's need of grace. As it has been sometimes said, that Cyril said little about original sin, I shall first point out some of the phrases which he is habitually using upon this subject, and then give some passages which speak of man's weakness. Other passages bearing upon grace will follow, but those which appear to tell against Augustine's doctrine will not be discussed. Suffice it to have honestly confessed,

<sup>r</sup> See<sup>a</sup>above, p. 56.

that there are passages of this kind<sup>a</sup>, which sometimes are easy to see through, and sometimes are not, but which would certainly require too much space for their discussion, to admit of their being handled in these volumes.

9. The following passages speak of original sin, and its effects. "God did not create man at first for wickedness, but his nature was perverted by the devil's impious devices to improbity; and from that original and divine guidance, as if from some socket that it belonged to, was violently wrested<sup>†</sup>." "The devil, like some godless barbarian, by the law of rapine seizing things not his own, subjected man to himself through sin<sup>‡</sup>." Hence "we went not after death only, but all the passions of the flesh, having suffered this in the first man, through the transgression, and God's curse too<sup>‡</sup>." And this world's condition, when Christ came, "was one of slavery, in which we do nothing whatever for God, but pay the devil the tribute he most delights in<sup>‡</sup>." Hence "death came in by the envy of the devil, as Solomon teaches<sup>‡</sup>." "Humanity was withered, and rendered barren of every virtue<sup>a</sup>, and we have an incapacity for succeeding in any thing that counts as virtue<sup>b</sup>." "Our race had bartered away sanctification<sup>c</sup>, and lost the spirit which had departed in the beginning

<sup>a</sup> One specimen may be mentioned from the Dialogues, p. 589. b. *Ἀγιάζεσθαι λέγονται τινες ὡς ἐν προγνώσει Θεοῦ προαναβροῦντος ὅτι τὴν εὐδόκιμόν τε καὶ ἐννομωτάτην κατωρθωκότες ζῶν ἐπιτηδείως ἔξουσιν καὶ εἰς τὸ χρῆναι μεταλαχεῖν ἁγίου Πνεύματος*; but on the next page but one, he speaks of man not being able *οἰκόθεν ἔχειν τὸν ἁγιασμόν*. See on St. John, p. 813. quoted below, §. 10. and Le

Quien cited in note, p. 131.

<sup>†</sup> in Jo. p. 1007. b.

<sup>‡</sup> Ibid. p. 855. b.

<sup>‡</sup> Ibid. p. 821. a.

<sup>‡</sup> Ibid. p. 313. d.

<sup>‡</sup> Wisdom ii. 26. Ibid. p. 561. and p. 123. b. p. 686. c. p. 768. d. p. 824. d.

<sup>a</sup> Ibid. p. 180. d.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. p. 956. b.

<sup>c</sup> Dial. p. 638. d.

through Adam's transgression<sup>d</sup>." "Our race was disfigured and without beauty, through the sin which was introduced into it<sup>e</sup>." "Though possessed of free-will, and entrusted with the reins of his own volition, (which is part of the image of God,) man had been changed and fallen<sup>f</sup>: was earthly from the earthly Adam<sup>g</sup>:" "for bitter and murderous sin feasted itself upon the whole race upon earth, in diverse manners biting each man's soul, and shedding the poison of wickedness in manifold forms<sup>h</sup>."

10. The following passage depicts strongly the helplessness of man: "Man was in Paradise, still keeping the gift that was given him, and bright with the divine Image of his Maker, through the Holy Ghost, who had been caused to dwell in him. But after that having been perverted by the deceits of the devil, he despised his Creator, and having trampled under foot the law appointed him, he vexed his Benefactor, he was required to give up the grace that had been bestowed upon him, and then he who had been made for life, heard for the first time, Earth thou art, and to earth shalt thou return! and the likeness to God was marred by the incursion of sin, and no longer were the features of it clear in him, but of a dimmer cast, and darkened by his transgression. But when the human race was extended to a far greater multitude, and sin lorded over them all, and plundered in a multitude of ways each one's soul, then was that nature stripped of its original grace, and the Spirit went entirely away, and the reasonable being fell into the greatest unreasonableness, having become ignorant even of his

<sup>d</sup> Apol. p. 153. c.

<sup>e</sup> Dial. p. 653. d.

<sup>f</sup> in Joan. p. 822. e.

<sup>g</sup> Dial. p. 725. d.

<sup>h</sup> in Joan. p. 151. e.



Creator himself. But the Maker of all, after having patiently waited for many ages, at last takes pity on a ruined world, and was minded in his goodness to knit the runagate flock on earth to the flock above, and thought fit through the Holy Ghost to give humanity again the elements of its original image; for *in no other way was it possible* for the divine features to gleam in it again, as they had done of old<sup>i</sup>. Again: "If we apply, 'I know my sheep,' to the relationship and kindred that he has to us, then what we say is, That it was not we who began the matter, but God the Only-begotten of God. For we did not grasp hold of that Godhead which is above nature, but he who was by nature God, took hold of the seed of Abraham, and became man, that being likened to his brethren in all things, except sin, he might take into relationship to him man, who by himself has not this relationship<sup>k</sup>." "As a weapon and unbroken safeguard to our souls hath the Father given the Spirit of Christ, to fill up his grace and presence and power in us. For it was *impossible* that the soul of man should succeed in any thing good, or get the mastery of his own passions, or escape the might of the devil's sharp-toothed snare, unless fortified by the grace of the Holy Spirit, and through him having Christ in himself<sup>l</sup>." And again: "For as we say, that the most ignominious image of the earthly man is seen by such specimens and shapes as have the filth of sin, and death, and the weakness of corruption, and love of fleshly pleasures, and the impurity of an earthly temper; so, on the other hand, we say, the image of the Heavenly, i. e. Christ, shines forth by

<sup>i</sup> in Jo. p. 122-3.

665. p. 976. c.

<sup>k</sup> Ibid. p. 655. a. mispaged<sup>l</sup> Ibid. p. 813. b.

purity and sincerity, by incorruption in every respect, by life, by sanctification. But it was *impossible* in any other way to bring back to their original beauty those who through the transgression in the first man had once fallen, unless we had obtained the unutterable participation of God's nature and union with him. For in this way in the beginning was mortal nature graced: and union with God could not accrue to any by any other way, than by the presence of the Holy Spirit putting into us the sanctification which is his own *proper property*, and remoulding into his own life that nature, which was become subject to corruption<sup>m</sup>." "If then Christ had not pleased to suffer for us, we should have been still dead, the servants of the devil, fools, and blind, and should have continued destitute of all good, the slaves of pleasure and sin, having no hope, and without God in the world<sup>n</sup>."

11. These passages serve to shew pretty clearly where man would have been without Christ. The following passage will shew, that the assent of the mind to religious truth, which is often a preliminary to conversion, and which Pelagians ascribed to man's own power<sup>o</sup>, is the gift of God. "Faith is a great blessing when it comes from a warm heart; and so great is the power that it has, that not only he that believes is saved, but others too are saved by other men's faith; as was the paralytic who was let down in Capernaum, through the faith of those who carried him; as Lazarus through his sister's faith, to whom the Lord said, Did I not tell thee, that if thou

<sup>m</sup> Ibid. p. 995. c.

<sup>n</sup> Ibid. p. 888. b.

<sup>o</sup> Fulg. de Inc. et Gr. §. 36. secundum illorum (Pelagiano-

rum) opinionem, nostrum est velle credere, priusquam nos gratia Dei incipiat adjuvare. Austin, Epist. 140. §. 81.

wouldest believe, thou shouldest see the glory of God? all but saying herein, Since Lazarus is dead and cannot believe, do you fill up that which is lacking to the faith of the dead man<sup>p</sup>. But faith is of two kinds; one dogmatical, implying assent to such and such a thing, as, he that believes in the Son is not condemned; and one which is given as a grace by Christ. For, it says, to one *is given through the Spirit the Word of wisdom*<sup>q</sup>, and to another faith; which is not dogmatical only, but also does superhuman works so as even to move mountains<sup>r</sup>. And again, after instancing the revelation the Godhead made to Cephas<sup>s</sup>, he proceeds: "I have made known thy name to them, and will make it known. The Only-begotten, who in the beginning revealed to the first disciples the power of the mystery which related to himself, has not left off making revelations to us; and he works this evermore in each man, by sowing in him the enlightenment of the Holy Ghost, and leading those who love him to knowledge, past understanding and thought<sup>t</sup>." The mention of sowing here is illustrated by the fact, that Cyril often speaks of the fragments of knowledge which God kept alive among the heathen, as sown<sup>u</sup> in their hearts by God. And in a similar way he speaks often of the Spirit as the mind of Christ<sup>x</sup>, knowing naturally whatever was in the will of the Only-begotten, and revealing

<sup>p</sup> This is clearly the same substantially as St. Austin's argument from the prayers of the Church given above, cap. v. §. 9.

<sup>q</sup> This very passage is used by Fulgentius, §. 40. to prove 'fidem non ex voluntate nostrâ nasci sed per Spiritum Sanc-

tum unicuique dari.'

<sup>r</sup> In Jo. p. 687. e.

<sup>s</sup> Matt. xvi. 17.

<sup>t</sup> Ibid. p. 1009. c. and p. 846.

<sup>u</sup> See *ibid.* p. 75. b. p. 122. c. p. 485. d. p. 561. e.

<sup>x</sup> Thes. p. 339. c. in Jo. p. 812. b. 828. c. p. 837. d. 925. b. Dial. p. 672. a.

divine mysteries to the saints.' And again, taking the cure of the blind man as a type of the cure of the Gentiles, he says: observe first, that it was "as Christ passed by, after leaving the temple of the Jews, that he saw the blind man: next, we shall do well to add this also, that it was without any invitation or any one asking him earnestly, but by a voluntary and self-bidden impulse that the Saviour comes to cure the man, making this too to be a sign that it was without any invitation from the Gentiles, (for all were in error,) that being a good God and good by nature, he came self-called, as it were, to shew mercy upon them. For how in the world or in what way should the confused multitude of the Greeks have sought for mercy from God, having, as it had, its mind so overwhelmed with the unparalleled ignorance of the Gentiles, as to be wholly unable to behold its illuminator? "How could man lay hold of a holy nature and receive the glory, which none can find unless he who has received it?" And elsewhere he gives as the reason, that man knows in part and speaks in part, the very text often used against Pelagians, "No man can say that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Spirit<sup>a</sup>." The following passage will be enough by itself to prove that St. Cyril held the grace of God, not only necessary to create life and saving knowledge in us, but also to keep it alive. "In the holy disciples, and indeed in all believers, there will not be purity, or, in other words, they will not keep from mixing any more with this world's vices, except through an amnesty from above, and a grace, which sets aside the taint of their former transgressions,

† In Jo. p. 601. d.

paged for 228.

† Ap. Mercat. ii. p. 252. mis-

• De Recta F. p. 4. a.

and the guilt of their past life; and instead, introduces the brightness of a life of sanctity, which will not however hold on the same without some trouble. Most wisely then do I think St. Paul said, Let him that thinketh he standeth, take heed lest he fall. For our lot is one of perpetual storm and varied troubles, while the wicked one is always tempting us, and continually besetting us, and trying by malicious devices, very hard to see into, to defile if he possibly can, those that have been already cleansed. For, as the prophet<sup>b</sup> says, his prey is select. Having borne witness then to his disciples, as leading a life out of the world, and as conforming themselves by imitation to his own essential purity, he goes on to entreat the Father that they may be preserved, saying as much as, O all-holy Father, if they were in the world, that is, if they loved the life honoured by this world, if they were sowing their own mind with earthy and transitory pleasures, and so imprinting on themselves the hideous image of the wicked one, then he would not tempt them so pertinaciously, or arm himself against his own children, finding in them a copy of the wickedness which belongs to himself. But since they too in imitation of me, scorning the deceit that is in the world, have come out of the world, and are now impressing upon their own ways my own incomparable brightness in its most shining form, and they therefore have plotting against them and most hostile to them Satan, that is always grating his teeth against the saints; I have need to wish they may be preserved. And how can they be preserved without thy Truth, that is, without me; and I am by nature thy Truth,

<sup>b</sup> Hab. i. 16.

O Father! thy essential living and substantial Word<sup>c</sup>.”

12. In the fourth Dialogue, when arguing against the Arians, he says, “I think (and let no one be indignant at language kindled into boldness by love of God) that Christ would not be an equivalent for the whole creation, nor of price enough to buy honourably the life of the world; nor would he have spent, as if for a ransom, his own life upon it, or have shed for us that precious blood, if he were not really the Son, and God of God, but a creature, and a part of the creation. I might add, moreover, that at that rate the creature has been saved too without receiving any thing whatever from God, and when it did not need that assistance from above. For how did it receive such assistance, and from whom, if it has redemption through itself and from itself, and the *power of continuing in well being*? Now the Arians say, that the Son, though belonging to the creation, saved the whole creation. Why then do we send up songs of thanksgiving to God? Why not give over this as irrelevant, and praise the creature in hymns<sup>d</sup>, &c.” And then he quotes the Psalm, *Benedic anima mea Deum*; which thanks God for such blessings as no creature can be asked to give.

13. These passages are selected from works against Arians for the most part, and they all tend to shew, that, unless there were a divine source of merit, man could not have it. That this divine source is the Person of our Lord Jesus Christ, will appear more plainly from the following passages. A very bold one shall be placed in the foremost rank. “Now then for through my needs I will speak with small

<sup>c</sup> In Jo. p. 983-4.

<sup>d</sup> Dial. 508-9.

regard to decorum—let the Only-begotten owe the deepest gratitude to the backslidings of those on earth, and to our sins, and let him know that the crimes charged to humanity have served as a pretext for deific glory to him; for if we had not sinned, he would not have become like us; and if he had not become like us, then he would not have endured the Cross, nor have died, nor have gained the right to be worshipped by ourselves and the holy Angels.\* This will remind the Catholic reader of the preface for Holy Saturday, “O happy sin that gained us such a Redeemer, &c.” Again, “He breathed into his face the breath of life, as the creature would not I think in any other way continue in the brightness of sanctification and relationship to God, unless he had been adorned by the presence of the Holy Spirit. Therefore, when the Only-begotten became man, having found the nature of man devoid of its ancient and original advantage, he was eager to give it the elements thereof back again, putting this into it from his own fulness, as if from a fountain, and saying, Receive the Holy Ghost; thus, by a breathing made through the flesh and perceptible to the senses, affording a clear outline of the Spirit’s nature†.” For “he himself being the power of God the Father, gives the creature its original elements again, having the power to create not as somewhat infused or ascititious, (far from it,) but rather as the fruit and operation of his own nature, just as the Father has. And it would be, as it appears to me, a triumph and effect of the self-same might and energy to bring the things created originally into being from out of a state of non-existence, and to be able to remould them into what they were at first, when they had been marred

\* Dial. v. p. 567-8.

† Ibid. p. 532. d.

by sin, and had undergone a disturbance which put them into a lower and more disgraceful condition<sup>g</sup>. “For we are earthly, inasmuch as the curse of corruption from the earthly Adam had fallen upon us, through which there came in that law of sin, which is in the members of our flesh. But we have become heavenly, a thing which we received in Christ. For being God by nature, and from God, and from above, he has descended to us, and having in an unusual and strange manner come even to be born of the Spirit according to the flesh<sup>h</sup>, that we too might continue holy and incorruptible like himself, while from him as if from a second beginning and root the grace comes down to us<sup>i</sup>.”

14. From the Thesaurus, an earlier work than the Dialogues, the following may be selected: “David somewhere sings, Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever: and after he says, Therefore God has anointed thee, &c. Now the Word was reigning with the Father before this anointing. How then is he anointed to be king and made holy, who was always king and holy? . . . . He is anointed and made holy for our sakes, that through him grace might hereafter run on to all, as having been already given to our nature, and being henceforward continued to the whole race. Hence our Saviour says<sup>k</sup>, For their sakes I sanctify myself, that they also may be sanctified. For whatever is in Christ, this reaches to us also: not as if he received the sanctification for himself, for it was he himself who sanctified, but that he might assure our nature of having sanctifica-

<sup>g</sup> Ibid. p. 620. c.

<sup>h</sup> This phrase is not very clear: but that *γενητός γεγυνώς* are meant to go together is

plain from p. 724. d. *γέγονε δὲ πρῶτος γ.*

<sup>i</sup> Dial. p. 725. d.

<sup>k</sup> John xvii. 19.



tion, himself becoming a way, as it were, and a beginning of the blessing we were to have: (wherefore he says, I am the way,) through which the divine grace has come down to us, exalting, hallowing, glorifying, and deifying our nature in Christ first<sup>1</sup>." "For in Christ first were the blessings of our nature bestowed, and the first fruits of the divine graces for us were in him and through him as being man, and from God, for he was God, in the flesh<sup>m</sup>." "For man, when alone and by himself, even if he did receive any good from God, easily loses it, as Adam's fate proves: and owing to his disobedience, he was stripped of the grace which was first given him. Hence it was necessary, in order that we might not fall into the same plight again, that the unchangeable Word should become man, and ask from the Father for the graces which come from him, that they might be preserved secure to our nature through himself, seeing he is unchangeable and unalterable. For grace having gotten a beginning, remains in Christ unfailing, and he sends on to us also the likeness of that grace. . . . He asks then and receives from the Father for our sakes, what he has naturally as God. But since he took a flesh which requires glorifying, and it was made to be the flesh, not of another person, but of himself, he with good reason appropriates to himself its properties and accidents, and he, as man not having, receives from the Father what he has by nature as Son of God<sup>n</sup>." These passages may suffice to shew, that St. Cyril regarded Christ as the fountain of all grace.

15. Nobody supposes that St. Peter is opposed to

<sup>1</sup> p. 197. c.

<sup>m</sup> p. 217. b.

<sup>n</sup> p. 227. a. See also a pre-

cisely similar though longer passage in Joan. p. 470. sqq.

St. Paul, because the former is not as explicit as the latter, upon subjects of grace and predestination, the former perhaps abstained from some things hard to be understood in St. Paul, because the particular circumstances of those Asiatics to whom the former was writing, rendered it unadvisable to speak to them in particular on these subjects. The same excuse may be set up for St. Cyril: Orientals and Egyptians have always shewn a marked leaning for theories of pre-existence, and the heresies of a Christianized nation have generally some kind of relation to the errors which they held when in a state of heathenism, somewhat as climate has an influence upon men's temper and constitution. St. Austin saw, that even the question of original sin<sup>o</sup> would bring into men's minds the question of the time of the soul's creation, and dispose impatient spirits to seek a solution of the difficulties of the question in a theory of pre-existence. Half-informed persons now-a-days think a belief in predestination leads at once to fatalism. It is not wonderful then that it should seem desirable, without some distinct reason to the contrary, to keep aloof from the subject of predestination in Egypt and in the East. But when we consider, that the lawless luxuriance of Origen's<sup>p</sup> genius had been employed to give a currency to this very theory of pre-existence, we see a distinct and definite reason why Cyril should avoid the subject even when tempted to enter upon it. That he actually was upon his guard against the introduction of this

<sup>o</sup> Aug. Epist. 164. 20. de An. et ej. Orig. i. §. 34. Retr. i. 8. Epist. 166. fin. et hoc tolerabiliter ignorarem, nisi metuerem ne aliqua istarum opinionum contra illud quod firmissima retinemus fide, incautis obre-

peret mentibus.

<sup>p</sup> Origen cited in V. Conc. Gen. Hard. iii. p. 262. Compare Huet. Origen, lib. ii. q. 6. Petav. de Inc. iv. 13. §. 2. Garn. ad M. i. p. 294.

theory, is pretty plain from the fact, that in his Commentary on St. John there are two dissertations<sup>1</sup> of some length against the theory, not to mention fragments of letters on the same subject. Where this theory came in about man in general, it would be applied, as Origen did, to the soul of Christ in particular. Dioscorus, Cyril's unworthy successor, was accused of it<sup>2</sup>; and Leo, no mean authority, gives it as his opinion, that Eutychianism, in one phase, necessarily involved it. "I think, says he, that he who says there were two natures in Christ before the Incarnation, must be persuaded that the soul which our Saviour took abode in heaven, before it was born of the Virgin Mary, and that the Word joined it to himself in the womb. But this no Catholic minds or ears will tolerate: for the Lord, when he came from heaven, did not bring with him any thing belonging to our lot, seeing he did not take either a soul that pre-existed, or a flesh which was not that of his Mother's body. For our nature was not so assumed as first to be created and afterwards assumed, but so as to be created by the very act of assumption. Hence what was deservedly condemned<sup>3</sup> in Origen, who asserted that souls had not only had life, but also different merits (*actiones*) before they were put into the bodies, that must also be of necessity punished in this (*Eutyches*), unless he prefers to give up his opinion."

16. Here then we have this great pontiff's opinion,

<sup>1</sup> p. 78. p. 508. and see Hard. iii. p. 262-4.

<sup>2</sup> Dioscorus in Conc. Chalc. H. ii. p. 324, c. Socrates, in his account of Theophilus's proceedings, H. E. vi. 17. shews that Origen had many favourers in Alexandria.

<sup>3</sup> Epist. 35. 3. St. Leo alludes apparently to the condemnation of Origen by Theophilus, who asserts, (ap. Hard. l. c.) that the whole West under Anastasius accepted the judgment of the Alexandrian Church against him.

that Eutychianism was a kind of offshoot of Origenism: the condemnation of the latter heresy which he refers to, had taken place in Alexandria. It behoved Cyril certainly, as an uncompromising follower of his illustrious uncle and predecessor, to be on his guard against what would lead towards that heresy. But it is important to observe, that as Eutychianism upon its first appearance seemed to be a revival of Nestorianism<sup>†</sup>, though its opposite, so in its subsequent ramifications also it exhibited sundry similarities to Nestorianism. Thus the very passage cited above<sup>‡</sup> from Nestorius, was adduced by the Lateran fathers, to prove the consonance of Monothelitism with the opinions of Nestorius as well as of other heretics. And it is worth remarking, that the Nestorian interlocutor in Cyril's dialogue is made to introduce the subject of predestination, as if a thing they liked to talk of, and that the orthodox in reply altogether omits to notice what the Nestorian said upon this subject<sup>§</sup>. This shews that Cyril was acquainted with the subject, and perhaps aware that Nestorians would be glad enough to get him into a discussion of it, that they might be able either to accuse him of Origenism, or else to retort the charge so often made against Nestorians, of reviving Paul of Samosata's heresy<sup>¶</sup>. It would be easy to make the vulgar fancy, that he who held predestination to be the source of grace even in Christ, held Christ to be predestined as Paul had made him to be, in the same manner as creatures were predestined. But the predestination of Christ caused the existence of his human nature as well as its merits; whereas that

<sup>†</sup> See Epist. xxv. and Ballerini's note 8.

<sup>‡</sup> Cap. vii. §. 1.

<sup>§</sup> Dial. p. 728. and p. 730.

<sup>¶</sup> See above, p. 134. note f. Garn. ad Merc. ii. p. 307.

of the saints is, as far as we can conceive it, a subsequent act in the divine mind to the determination to create them.

17. There are however times when St. Cyril does not so entirely avoid the subject; and this will appear from the following passage, which, while it shews that he distinguished between prescience and predestination, also leads us to the consideration of the text upon which his vital and substantial agreement with St. Austin principally appears. In the third book against Nestorius the following passage occurs, in reply to what Nestorius had said of Christ's likeness to us in all things: On the subject of likeness, "let the Master of the Gentiles in faith and truth come forward and teach us, 'Whom he knew,' he says, 'and predestined to be conformed to the image of his Son, them he also called.' Therefore, as I was just now saying, so far forth as he became man, and was of Abraham's seed, we are conformed to him. Did then the Father both foreknow and predestine every body on the earth, and after having called them, sanctify and glorify them<sup>z</sup>? But all were not predestined, all were not sanctified or glorified. The matter of conformity to the Son then should not be conceived to lie merely in having the nature of the flesh or humanity, but in another mode. And this the blessed Paul puts before us, when he says, As we have borne the image of the earthly, so shall we also bear the image of the heavenly: by earthly, meaning the image of

<sup>z</sup> Aubert has πάντας δὴ οὖν καὶ προέγνω κ. τ. λ. and suggests οὗς for οὖν. I suspect the fault is not there; but that Cyril's meaning is, 'So he foreknew all, &c. did he!' and that a καὶ

has dropped out between κεκλη- κώς and ἡγίασε. Otherwise I do not see with what sense Cyril could proceed, ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐχ ἅπαντες προωρίσθησαν.

our forefather Adam; by heavenly, that of Christ. What then is the image of our forefather, but a propension to sin, a subjection to death and corruption? What, again, is the image of the heavenly, but an inability to be in any respect vanquished by passions or transgressions; lack of that subjection to death and corruption; sanctification, justice, and the like and twin of these. But these, I think, it would become a divine immortal nature to have possession of, for it is superior to death and corruption, is sanctification, is justice. To these God the Word lifts us up also, by making us partakers of his *divine* nature through the Spirit. Hence he has brethren like himself, and bearing the *image* of his divine nature through the way of sanctification. For it is thus that Christ is formed in us, while the Holy Ghost transubstantiates us as it were from what is human to what is his own<sup>a</sup>."

18. To understand this passage fully, it is necessary to observe, that there were two words in use with Cyril to express the relation of the Spirit to the Son. He calls him the 'image' of the Son, or the 'quality' of the Son. Either of these words may be regarded in a double aspect: they may each mean either a certain inherent relationship existing eternally in the blessed Trinity antecedently to and independently of all creatures: or they may mean that likeness, image, or quality, considered as impressed upon certain creatures. The term 'image,' as applied to the Holy Spirit, is now disused; it was first, I believe, introduced by St. John, who revealed it at the command of Mary, in a vision to Thaumaturgus<sup>b</sup>: and it serves to express, that the Spirit

<sup>a</sup> c. Nest. p. 71-2. comp. ab. p. 177.

<sup>b</sup> Vide Nyssen. in Vit. G. T. vol. iii. p. 546. d. It was a

derived his substance from the Son, as truly as the Son did from the Father, on whatever other grounds it is objectionable. The term 'quality,' as applied to the Holy Ghost, though not now in use, is somewhat analogous to the term 'gift,' which was and is common in the West. When St. Austin makes it a personal attribute of the Holy Spirit, so to proceed as to be capable of being given<sup>c</sup>, he is using language capable of being compared to Cyril's 'quality.' Both 'gift' and 'quality' are terms *more* easy to comprehend, when we take in the creatures, than when we endeavour to contemplate the Trinity without them. And the same will hold in a great measure of the term 'image,' as applied to the Holy Spirit: it is more applicable to him, considered as expressing God's likeness in the souls of the saints, and impressing it upon them; than to the same Spirit, considered as eternally deriving his substance from the Son.

19. This premised, it will be easy to shew, that if Cyril conceived that image first impressed upon the soul of Christ, and then upon his saints, then he must, if questioned, have allowed St. Austin's doctrine about the predestination of Christ. Either the Apostle in writing to the Romans must have been held by Cyril not to speak of an eternal predestination at all, or he must have conceived that predestination as including the original image after which the others were formed; if, that is, he takes the image to be a set of qualities, or a likeness not only eternal, but also infused in time. Now all this helps indeed to shew, how the question of the double Procession bears upon that of the Unity of Person in Christ. But without

common expression in the  
Greek Church. See St. Thom.  
1. q. 35. art. 2. and Le Quien  
ad Jo. Dam. F. O. i. 18. Pet. de

Trin. vii. 7.

<sup>c</sup> De Trinitate, lib. v. §. 16.  
Petav. de Trin. viii. 3. Berti.  
de Trin. vii. 14.

saying more upon this subject, the following passages from St. Cyril shall be added, in order to enable the thoughtful reader to judge, whether or no there is a radical and deep-seated agreement between him and St. Augustine, even upon the question of predestination.

20. "All graces were in Christ substantially, but by likeness to him reached to us also through his grace<sup>d</sup>." And of the Holy Spirit considered as acting upon us, "How, he says, shall those who have the Spirit be partakers of the divine nature, if he is numbered among things created, and does not rather proceed to us from the divine nature itself, not being supplied to us by it, as something not its own, but put into us as a sort of *quality* (so to say) of the Godhead, and dwelling in the saints, and remaining in them continually<sup>e</sup>." Again: "Being partakers of the divine nature, by relation to the Son through the Spirit, all we who believe are not partakers in bare seeming, so much as in truth, and are formed after God, having fresh elements of a supernatural beauty given to us. For Christ is formed unspeakably in us, not as the created in the created, but as uncreate and God, in a nature created and made, he giving us a new stamp after his own *image* through the Spirit, and transferring the creature, to wit ourselves, to a dignity above the creature<sup>f</sup>." "But that the Spirit is a true *likeness* of the Son, hear the blessed Paul, who has written, that those whom he foreknew and predestined to be like the image of his Son, those he also called. For we are renewed, so as to gain the likeness to the Holy Spirit, i. e. to God, through faith and holiness<sup>g</sup>."

<sup>d</sup> in Jo. p. 357. d.

• In Joan. p. 810—11.

<sup>f</sup> Dial. p. 530. d.

<sup>g</sup> Ibid. p. 639. d.



21. These passages may be said to contain the groundwork of a distinction most important for the purposes of this work. This distinction is that between the titles of First-begotten and Only-begotten, as applied to our Lord. The Arian controversy created the necessity for observing this distinction, in order to give a reason for those expressions of Holy Writ in which our Lord is styled the first-born of all the creation, and the like. If he is first-born, he has brother creatures, the Arians contended: and this the Fathers, and especially St. Cyril, every where distinctly admit, only they deny the Arian conclusion from it, and assert, that as Creator our Lord is called Only-begotten; as creature, or as having reference to the creatures, he is called first-born or first-begotten. What we want for the purposes of this book is that distinct, and full, and explicit admission, that a *first-born must be* first-born among many brethren. Otherwise the title is a useless or perplexing one. As Petavius or any theological treatise will supply proofs of this assertion, it is unnecessary to prove it here. But the reader is begged to keep in mind, that the assertion has most distinctly and formally been made.

<sup>b</sup> Petav. de Trinit. ii. 10. §. 12.

## CHAP. X.

UPON THE ADORABLENESS OF CHRIST'S HUMAN NATURE.

1. IT has been already observed, that St. Cyril urged against the Nestorian doctrine, that it reduced the holy communion to a species of refined cannibalism<sup>a</sup>. It has been seen how much Nestorius made<sup>b</sup> of the Eucharist as an argument to prove, that we partake not of the godhead but of the flesh in the Eucharist. In spite of this, however, all Christians held so strongly (he was well aware) the adorableness of the flesh<sup>c</sup> there received, that he attempted to meet the objection to his theory, which this would suggest, without denying the adorableness of Christ's flesh. He asserted, that the human and the divine nature were both to be adored : he made the divine nature adorable, and the human nature co-adorable; capable, that is, of a receiving the same adoration as the divine nature, not because it was become part of a divine Person, but because, though a separate subsistency, it stood in an intimate relationship with the Word<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Cap. v. §. 8.<sup>b</sup> Cap. iii. §. 6.

<sup>c</sup> Petav. de Incarn. xv. 3. §. 9. Hæc acerrimorum Cyrilli adversariorum cum eo concordia in hac simplici ac singulari adoratione tuendâ plurimum valere debet ad corroborandum Catholicam professionem et adorationes duas repudiandas. Non enim tam consentientes in hac re illos haberemus, nisi exploratissimum id illis fuisset, non esse distrahendum unius

ab alterâ cultum adorationemque naturæ. It may be added, that if the Real Presence were not believed, nobody would ever have troubled his head about the adorableness of Christ's flesh. Comp. Garn. ad Merc. ii. p. 329.

<sup>d</sup> Cyril. ad Nest. p. 52—3. Apol. p. 192—3. ad Success p. 147. Nestor. ap. Garn. i. p. 69. iii. N. Ap. Assem. iv. p. 202. expressly anathematizes those who ascribe to the assumed

2. This seems at first sight, to those unused to such questions, like a distinction without a difference; but, in point of fact, it amounts to an assertion, that that which is not God may be worshipped as God. Deny that Christ's flesh ever had any subsistence, except in union with a divine Person, and to worship it is to worship God; assert that, though always in a relationship with God from its first creation, (which Nestorius admitted<sup>e</sup>), yet still it was a separate subsistency, and to worship it is to worship a creature. Hence anti-Nestorian writers<sup>f</sup> continually urge that Nestorianism introduced a Quaternity in place of a Trinity: a fourth adorable subsistency is a fourth Divine Person. And it is observable, that this tendency was alluded to by St. Austin<sup>g</sup>; as if he suspected it would be an ultimate result of Pelagianism; and pointed out distinctly by St. Athanasius<sup>h</sup>, as one of

less power than to the Assumer. Anath. xi. and in Anath. xii. gives the assumed *man* the power of containing all creatures whatsoever (ἡμεῖς ὅλας τὰς κτίσεις) on the ground of this relationship.

<sup>e</sup> See above, p. 47. note b. and Assem. l. c. Anath. x.

<sup>f</sup> Cyril. c. Nest. p. 117. a. (Comp. p. 40. c. p. 43. b.) τέταρτος ὥσπερ τις ἡμῖν μετὰ τὴν ἀγίαν τριάδα ἀναδεεγμένος. Dial. p. 731—2. Paul. Emes. in Ephes. H. i. p. 1696. b. p. 1726. b. Mercator. ii. p. 128. xii. Cas-sian. p. 1242. Fulgent. de Inc. et Gr. Epist. xvii. §. 22. Paulin. c. Felic. i. 37. 57. iii. 15. Beat. et Ether. p. 303. in Canis. tom. ii. Leporius, Hard. i. p. 1264. e. Fac. Herm. ix. 1. Maxent. in B. P. vol. iv. pt. i. p. 437. c. p. 451. b. p. 484. Leont. ap. Canis.

i. p. 578. c. de Sect. vii. fin. Damasc. c. Nest. 1. et 34. Th. Abucara ap. Grets. xv. p. 413. Vide also Pet. de Inc. lib. v. cap. 10.

<sup>g</sup> De Præd. §. 31. de Dono, §. 67. in Jo. tr. 27. §. 4. tr. 77. §. 3. tr. 99. §. 1. Epist. 140. §. 12. 219. §. 1. Serm. 130. §. 3. 261. §. 7. furnish materials from which such a suspicion may be deduced, especially as it seems from passages already given in chapter vii. that he saw the tendency of Pelagianism towards making two persons in Christ.

<sup>h</sup> Athan. c. Apoll. i. 9. and 12. 13. ad Epict. §. 2. §. 8. Montf. ad p. 735. ii. and comp. Hormisdas ap. Hard. ii. p. 1314—15. Nyssen in Gall. vi. p. 558. Mai. Spicil. x. pt. ii. p. 148. Max. Conf. ii. p. 85. 327.

two results to which Apollinarianism, though the apparent opposite of Nestorianism, must lead. Apollinaris must either make the two other divine Persons consubstantial with Christ's flesh, if this flesh was heavenly, divine, and adorable, or he must introduce a Quaternity.

3. Now St. Cyril's doctrine, as exhibited in quotations presently to be given, will secure to Christ a Person capable of being adored, and also a nature capable of adoring. If we understand 'adoring' in such a wide sense as to include not only the supreme adoration due to the Holy Trinity, but also that homage due to other holy beings, Christ is capable of adoring in both senses. The former of these is technically called *Latria*, and the latter *Dulia*. When Christ is made a little lower than the Angels, is strengthened<sup>i</sup> by them, is ministered to by them, or again when he submits to St. Joseph or to Mary, he does acts of *Dulia*. Both *Latria* and *Dulia* imply a raising of the mind and affections to something invisible: for the holiness in the saints which makes them objects of *Dulia* is invisible to us. Now Christ could do either an act of *Latria* or of *Dulia* in a far more perfect way than we can; but he could not exalt *Dulia* into *Latria*. He could not, for instance, have offered the Sacrifice of Calvary to any but the Holy Trinity alone<sup>k</sup>, not to St. Joseph, nor to the Angels, nor to Mary. The adoration or reverence he paid to the creatures, though absolutely perfect in its kind, never incroached upon that adoration

<sup>i</sup> Neither 'confortans' in Latin, nor *ἐνισχύων* in Greek, nor *רִיחַ* in Hebrew, Dan. x. 18. whence the Septuagint supplied the Greek word to the New Testament, mean comforting but strengthening. But we shall

have to return to this passage below, pt. ii. cap. x.

<sup>k</sup> Cyril Apol. p. 189. c. οὐκ ὡς μείζονι Θεῷ προσκομίζων τὴν ἱερουργίαν ἀλλὰ ἑαυτῷ τε καὶ τῷ Πατρὶ κ. τ. λ. Ad Reginas, p. 148. d.

or reverence which his human nature paid to the divine. What became of those habits of reverence which he had formed for certain creatures, whether such habits, like those of compassion for our infirmities, remained in him after death, are not questions for the present chapter. Nevertheless, in adducing passages from the great doctor of the Incarnation to prove the adorableness of the Divine Person who redeemed us, certain statements will come in concerning the capacities of Christ for adoring God and reverencing creatures. And these statements deserve a particular and marked attention.

4. But the proper subject of this chapter, is the adorableness of Christ's flesh. Cyril's statements upon this subject are quoted to the neglect of other doctors, not because passages from others are not rife enough, but because Cyril's teaching on the adorableness of Christ's flesh is the clue to his teaching upon the state of grace and truth in which Christ's soul was created. Before citing passages which contain his teaching, it is necessary to observe, that the anti-Arian writers made great use of the passage which tells us, that true worshippers<sup>1</sup> worship the Father in spirit and in truth, to prove that the Father was to be worshipped in the Spirit and in the Son. One mode by which the Arians evaded this, was by appealing to the text where Christ says, *we* worship what we know: here they urge he puts himself among the worshippers, and is therefore inferior to the Father. This Cyril frequently answers by shewing, that Christ had a nature capable of worshipping or adoring, though he was a divine or adorable Person. The first passage cited will sug-

<sup>1</sup> Jo. iv. 24. See Athan. ad Bas. Ep. 234. Cyril. Dial. p. 623. d. Serap. i. §. 33. Nyssen. ii. p. 521. Comp. n. e. on St. Ephrem, p. 136.

gest to the reader, that the question, is the flesh of Christ adorable? and the question, is the soul of Christ full of knowledge? are cognate questions. The spirits in prison, to whom Christ preached, might have adored the soul with which he veiled his divinity<sup>m</sup>, as men might his flesh. But it is not intelligible how either could take place without idolatry, if either soul or body lacked any communicable grace, and was not fully and perfectly one with God. But to proceed.

5. In the sixth Dialogue he puts the objection thus into the mouth of the objector on the Arian side. "How can he who is numbered among those that worship carry off the glory of consubstantiality, and contend with the Father, who is worshipped, for equality, seeing as one does that in other points he concedes to the Father the possession of a nature excelling and superior to his own? For he says, Of that day and hour, to wit, of the last day, no one knows, neither Angel in heaven, nor the Son, except the Father." "So then," St. C. replies, "the Son all of a sudden comes forth as a worshipper instead of God, and is accomplishing the injunction of God the Father, just as the creatures he has made do, unconsciously, like a thing on the stage! Surely this is an absurdity indeed, and it is fair it should be put on a par with the tricks of the theatre! For if by such balderdash as this, and such mere human ratiocinations, they go pretty well to the very verge of stupidity, and sink their intellect as it were in the mire hereof; yet we have not parted with the sweetly smelling knowledge of sacred doctrines.

<sup>m</sup> Anast. Sin. Viæ. Dux. p. 113. b. *ποίαν ἰδέαν ἰδόντες οἱ πύ- λωροι τοῦ ᾄδου ἔφριξαν* κ. τ. λ. Athan. c. Apoll. i. 14. 17. ii. 9. Cyril. Dial. p. 692-4. in Joan. p. 933. b.

For, as far as one may judge, they appear utterly to forget, though oftentimes insensed herein by us and the Holy Scriptures, that the Word being God, and in the Father's form, and equal to him, appeared like us not in a bare semblance of flesh, but also with humanity's properties, or whatever other name one ought to give them. Now it is a property of human nature, when fastened in obedience to the yoke of servitude, to worship, as also to be ignorant what is the counsel and intent in God. For who has known the mind of the Lord, or who has been his counsellor? And, as when the Word appeared like us, I think they would not say, that he was forced away from being Word any longer, and was changed into flesh from the earth; thus if what is human was taken and made proper to him, there is nothing grating in thinking or saying, that with the humanity he bore in the economy the things belonging to it. For this is no more than what the idea of emptying himself required. Let them then either boldly strip the Word of the flesh, and all that goes along with it, and do away at once the whole economy, and then they will see plainly the Son as God: or, if they flinch from this, as impious and blasphemous, why do they feel still ashamed of the proportions of humanity? why set themselves to chide at things as suitable as can be to the economy of the flesh?

6. "Yet surely it is a reflection they ought to have the wisdom to make, that as being God by nature, and sprung from God, he makes what belongs to man his own; so also now he has become man, he has the honour and glory proper for the Divinity as his own: for he is adored not only upon earth, but also in heaven, though he did not discard as a thing beneath him the duty of adoring as a man

and a Jew. For it says, 'when he brings the First-begotten into the world, he saith, And let all the Angels of God adore him.' If then they say, that it was the Word that sprung from God who was gendered from the seed of Abraham, it is we that are the fools, and let him be called a Jew, let him be a worshipper. But if it is proved, that when they choose to hold this tenet, this argument of theirs issues at once in downright insanity, and they will prefer to assert, that when he took hold of the seed of Abraham, and sprung according to the flesh of the root of Jesse also, and passed for a Jew, and became a worshipper as man; why, having rejected the mystery of the economy of the flesh as idle, do they [not] spring forward at once upon the nature of the Word, and impiously degrade him who is consubstantial with the Father, by making him, divested and bare of the flesh, to adore without his being conceived as in our condition or among us creatures, whom no one, I think, would blame for choosing to adore, seeing the thing would rather be matter of praise, and a subject of the utmost satisfaction.

7. "But was it not written concerning him that he would sink, that is, in his human nature, even below the better nature, that of Angels I mean, and would be conceived as some little inferior to their glory. For Paul said, We see Jesus, who was made a little lower than the Angels, for the suffering of death crowned with glory and honour. Now what mean they, who though enjoying a better nature, they who walk the city above and are rich with *a knowledge of God altogether unerring and utterly unmistakable*, what mean they by making him who is in an inferior nature and behind them in inherent glory, an object of adoration, O my friend? . . . . If indeed it be one



and the same person who is at once less, and also in an incomparably superior excellence, then we shall easily deal out to the humanity that less thing which fittingly belongs to it, (for man's nature is far short of that of Angels,) and to the Divinity above all, a pre-eminence and excellence above all creatures, and an essential superiority to every reasonable essence, and every name that is named. But if it be reasonable for the Word without the flesh, and not as yet as it were enveloped in our condition, to obtain a position inferior to that of even the Angels themselves, then he will be less than his own creatures and a worshipper into the bargain, and our argument will no longer hold in his defence or excuse. But if to say or to think this, is at once impious and very dangerous, and why he is less is because he is also man, it is a necessary consequence for us to reason thus: 'He is a worshipper because he is man, although, as being God by nature and equal to the Father, he is worshipped by all. For God said by one of the prophets, As I live, saith the Lord, every knee shall bend to me, and every tongue confess. And the divine Paul, well representing the Son as consubstantial with the Father, and knowing that he who was begotten, is in the glory of him who begot, says, At the name of Jesus Christ every knee shall bend, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth, and every tongue shall confess that Jesus Christ is the Lord, in the glory of God the Father.'

8. "But it may be said, 'We shall find the Son adored *with* the Father, but likewise adoring him, as at once having honour given him, and yet not ignorant what he is by nature. For he exceeds the nature of things created, yet is not what the Father

is.' At this rate then the Son has gained the glory of Godship as the handsel and reward of virtue, and the right of being worshipped he has come into, not as something his own nature has a claim to, but simply and solely at the will of the Father. Will they then be good enough to shew me, when the Father conceded to the Son the privilege of being worshipped, and how? for surely they will not say, that whatever themselves choose to opine, is God the Father's judgment. They will say, that he ordered the holy Angels to adore him; for what else but this can be meant by the text, 'When he bringeth the First-begotten into the world, he says, And let all the Angels of God worship him?' Do they say then that it is because the Father commanded it, that they feel quite decided that the Son ought to be adored, and will they yet deny that the Only-begotten has the title *First-begotten* by way of addition through regard to the Humanity, which title must needs introduce along with itself the idea, that the glory of the said First-begotten is something added to him. For when, pray, did he become First-born, except when he became so amongst many brethren? Now if the Word was a brother to us by nature and of the same race before he took flesh, why is this title not said to have become his at the beginning, but in latter times? In what sense again can he be called Only-begotten, if ranked with the creation? But since it does not admit of a doubt, but on the contrary is both true and becoming, for him to appear among men in the last ages of the world, therefore he is called First-begotten, and has a glory which is added to him, and hence the duty of worshipping him is one newly introduced. But if this be not so, which it is just like them to think, there is an

argument which will force them round to reasonings disgraceful and absurd for their stupidity. For any one, I think, may say, If he is the First-begotten, because he became man, and the season when the duty of adoring him began, was when he is most said to have been emptied, then the season of this emptying will be one of a glory he was not accustomed to, and that vileness and ingloriousness will be of older date than the Incarnation, to wit, of the date when he being, as is written, in the form of the Father and equal to him, sprang down to a nature that was sunk so low, I mean, that of man. Now if he was inglorious, and far from receiving adoration then, why was it that the Seraphim stood round about the Son as he sat upon the throne of the Godhead, and with hymns and doxologies honoured him, and called him Lord of Sabaoth, saying, that the heaven and earth was full of his glory<sup>a</sup>? . . . . How then can he who before he became man or was called First-begotten, shone with God the Father's honours, be in any wise whatever 'less than the Father'?

9. "But it may be said, admitting all that you say, that it was when he became First-born that the command that he should be adored was given, still it may be asked, was it not a thing *given* to him by the Father? To this I reply, What we have to consider is not simply whether it was given, but

<sup>a</sup> Is. vi. 4. (compared with Jo. xii. 41.) is evidently the text Cyril alludes to: he has only confused it with the Sanctus of the Church. For the Prophet has 'all the earth:' but of course Lord of Sabaoth is Lord of Hosts, and this 'the

Prophet calls the Son, and introduces him as a King, with the highest Powers for his body-guard:' in Joan. p. 504, 505. A text or two is omitted here, and throughout the objector is turned into objections.

when it was given; now it was plainly, when he came down according to his brotherhood with us to be First-begotten: for this brotherhood, I suppose, is what 'first-begotten' must allude to. Hence I may ask, whether it is suitable for the human nature, viewed by itself as what it is, to have claim to that rank and degree of adoration which belongs to God? For what belongs properly to him, belongs to the Sovereign Nature only. Consequently, when the Son sprang down from the preeminence which was his own, and did not consider it robbery to be equal to God, since he had made his own that which by nature was servile, and obliged to adore, he adored along with us. But since it could no wise be compassed, and was out of all reason, that the Son who was born from himself should be seen without the brightness of his Father's glories, even though he had come to be in the flesh, yet, through the illumination of the Holy Spirit, Heaven was initiated in the mystery relating to him, that is, the multitude of the Holy Angels were, and were enjoined to worship the Only-begotten, who shared his Father's throne, even when set forth as First-born and among many brethren, not that the Father was then bringing him for the first time into this glory, or giving him adoration as a thing he had never set his foot upon before and was not accustomed to, but as exhibiting him who had always, and from the beginning of all ages, been adored by them, as an object of adoration, even though he was now in the flesh. Therefore, to go back to what we started with, the Son adored, when he appeared as First-born and in the form of a servant. Now from this any one may see easily what was the supereminence of rank which belongs to him by nature.

For if adoring belongs to the form of a servant only, which among all beings cannot see at once, how independent was that Beauty which he had before the Incarnation <sup>p</sup>?"

10. We have here a distinct witness to a capacity for adoring gained by the Son, through his human nature, and to a capacity for being adored attaching to that nature, in virtue of the divine Person to which it now belonged. And in speaking of the text, my Father is greater than I, he denies that from this or any other appearances of subjecting his will to the Father's, you can demonstrate an inferiority of nature, as at that rate you might argue he was below human nature, because 'he put his concerns under human beings, and subjected himself to his Mother after the flesh, and being vanquished by the reverence he had for Joseph, yielded to him the honour that was due to a father <sup>q</sup>.' We see that the passage in the Hebrews must perforce be applied to the Son at the time he came into this world, i. e. at his conception, that the term First-born, or begotten, necessarily implies many brethren, that the right to be adored did not belong even to *his* human nature, but to his divine Person. That St. Cyril would include in the *capacity* of adoring God, the capacity for revering relics and the like, may be inferred from the remark he makes upon our Saviour's sitting by Jacob's well: "He lingers about the memories of the saints", that

<sup>p</sup> Dial. p. 623—627. compare Thes. p. 71. c. in Jo. p. 190. c.

<sup>q</sup> Dial. p. 582. e. See Aug. in Jo. tr. xiv. §. 28. Epist. 171. 9. and Ambros. in Luc. ii. 65. where similar reflections occur.

<sup>r</sup> In Joan. p. 177. e. Aubert

renders *παρδού* parentibus, but the mention of 'the Memorix Sanctorum' is what decides the meaning of the passage, (vide Selvagio, Antiq. Christian. lib. ii. §. ix. though the term 'Memorix Sanctorum' is a Latin one for the ordinary Greek Mar-

in this too he may make himself an example to us, and become a beginning and door of reverence towards our forefathers'." But it will contribute more to our immediate purpose to cite some other passages in which Cyril speaks of the adoration paid to Christ. Some shall be selected in which (*a*) the Adoration paid him by angels is spoken of generally, (*b*) in which some increase of their adoration after the Ascension is spoken of, (*c*) where man's adoration after that time is spoken of, (*d*) especially as paid to Christ as really present in the Eucharist. Something shall then be said of the deific power of the Eucharist according to St. Cyril, and it shall be shewn from what he says of the Transfiguration, that he held that power to reside in Christ's flesh before the time, when it was actually put forth. We shall then return for a short time to the other argument adduced by the Arian objector in §. 2. to prove that Christ was not equal to the Father, viz. his ignorance of the day of judgment, the fuller discussion of which passage must be reserved for a future chapter.

11. (*a*) In the passage just quoted, we find him first speaking of the Angels as having a knowledge of God altogether unerring and utterly unmistaken, and afterwards as if requiring an illumination in order to understand one of the most prominent of his counsels, which even our slow intellects can see to be clearly revealed long before in the Old Testament. He apologizes for thus seeming to offer an

tyrium; still the Latin term probably came from the reading in Rom. xii. 13. *μνείας ἀγίων*: Cyril's *μνήμης* is a stronger expression for a place than this: the Alex. codex

D. has *μνείας*,) to say nothing of the absurdity of making Christ a beginning of what every decent Jew, since Moses, had observed. See p. 199.

\* p. 582. e.

affront to the nature of Angels, by quoting Ephes. iii. 10. where the Church is spoken of as if revealing things to Angels, and Ps. xiii. 7. where the Angels are spoken of as inquiring who Christ was at his ascension<sup>†</sup>. Now as this apology, as being an apology, proves what was the general feeling of the Church in his day, to wit, that the Angels knew all things in God, we may be allowed to take Cyril to mean here, that they are represented as ignorant in order to teach us<sup>‡</sup>. Indeed, he says elsewhere, that if Christ, the First-begotten, who was then adored, were not God, you must assume “even the very powers in heaven to have erred, so as to serve the creature instead of the Creator . . . . Now no one would say that the holy Angels erred, but, on the contrary, that the knowledge of God in them is truthful<sup>§</sup>.” But he is not always careful to appear consistent with himself upon the subject, but varies his mode of speaking as the occasion requires, and as the following quotation will shew: “As to be Only-begotten became the property of Humanity in Christ, because united with the Word in the coalition of the economy, so to be among many brethren and to be First-born, became the property of the Word, because he was made one with the flesh. Having then his Godship securely, and being above all change, he does not relinquish his own glory. Therefore it is that the holy and blessed assemblage of the spirits above are ordered to adore him along with us. For indeed it is by no means improbable that they would refuse the adoration, and shrink from honouring him when they saw the meanness of humanity, and him who had for us

<sup>†</sup> Dial. p. 627. e.

Ephrem, p. 283. and above,

<sup>‡</sup> See Petavius de Angelis chap. ix.

i. 8. 12. and note c. on St.

<sup>§</sup> Thes. p. 280. d.

become like us, they would not think right to glorify, receding as far as ever they could from appearing to have erred. For hitherto the mystery of Christ had not been <sup>7</sup>seen by them, but the Spirit revealed it to them, and suffered not those, who had been hallowed, to be impious<sup>8</sup>. Wherefore the divine Paul saith, When he bringeth the First-born, &c. For he who by the propriety of his nature differed from the whole world, and was external to it as God, came into it by becoming a part of the world as man. Yet he did not hereby fall from his divine glory; for it is as Only-begotten that he is adored, even if he be called First-born, which is obviously a name admirably suited to the rank of his humanity<sup>a</sup>." And in his work against Nestorius: "The plain reason why God ordered him to be adored is, because he is one, not one *with* another. But who is it that is adored by the Angels? The Scripture says, it is the First-born, and we say that the Word, of God the Father, is called *First-born*—who is by nature Son and *Only-begotten*, and did not, as far as his Godhead is concerned, rank with the creation, when he became man—also became First-born among many brethren. It is one then who is adored by the spirits above, the Word of God the Father along with his flesh<sup>b</sup>." And again: "We are taught to adore

<sup>7</sup> ἄποτον not 'incognitam' as Aubert loosely renders. The word ἄποτος occurs elsewhere in a similar sense, e. g. ad Regin. de R. F. p. 31. a.

<sup>8</sup> δυσσεβεῖν, for the force of this word see Newman on Athan. p. 1.

<sup>a</sup> Dial. p. 700. a. p. 405. d. p. 516-17. p. 548. a. cf. ad Regin. p. 27. a.

<sup>b</sup> p. 59, 60. In the celebrated passage in Justin Martyr's Apol. 1. §. 6. (τὸν διδάξαντα

ἡμᾶς ταῦτα καὶ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων ἀγγέλων στράτον,) some take ἡμᾶς καὶ τὸν together, which seems to me the easiest explanation, and most in accordance with the teaching of the times: but it is not desirable to discuss here such a 'vexata quæstio.' This way of explaining the Πρωτοτ. he applies, even to Coloss. i. 15. Thes. p. 154. p. 236—242. as did Nyssen. c. Eunom. p. 349—51. p. 452. p.



Christ, being one God, and with us the powers above are taught to do so. For it is written, When he bringeth, &c. Now he became First-born, when he also was born a man like us, as it was then that he was called the brother of those that loved him<sup>c</sup>. "In the same Christ there is at once God, and the same is man. In this way, when he was born, there were quires of holy angels and armies of spirits proclaiming him to be the Saviour and Redeemer<sup>d</sup>." These passages only go to shew, that the Angels adored our Lord at the time he was *born*; but it is manifest, that Cyril's doctrine would lead to the conclusion, that he was adorable as soon as he was *conceived*, as he held that the union took place at the instant of creation. Here however he is intent on shewing, that the union was such as to render the Word with the Flesh adorable, and is not considering the precise moment when that union took place. "For it was not a common man that was born of the holy Virgin first, into whom the Word afterwards came down, but being made one from the time of conception, (ἐξ αὐτῆς μητρὸς,) he is said to endure a birth after the flesh, because he took to himself the birth of his own flesh<sup>e</sup>."

12. If St. Cyril speaks in some of the above passages of our Lord as obtaining adoration at his birth, his principles shew, that he was adorable as soon as he was conceived. But the reason why he speaks of the birth rather than of the conception is, because the word 'Theotocos' does not mean 'God-

541—3. See Athan. c. Arian. ii. 62. *ibique*. Hilar. de Trin. viii. §. 50. The main thing to which attention is here again drawn is, that Πρωτ. according to this implies the sonship of others,

who are by grace brothers of him who is Son by nature.

<sup>c</sup> p. 154. c.

<sup>d</sup> p. 161. c.

<sup>e</sup> In Ephes. p. 1275. b. See farther, chap. xi. §. 4.

conceiving, but 'God-bearing.' Nestorius allowed a union between the two natures in the womb, but not the hypostatic union; and therefore the question, whom did Mary bring forth? and the question, whom did she conceive? were, as far as Nestorianism was concerned, one and the same question. If Christ was adorable after he had performed the miracle of his Nativity\*, he was adorable just before it, and so on backwards up to his conception. Nestorius himself would certainly have adored Christ's flesh in the womb, as he did when it came forth from it. It was just in this that the absurdity of his heresy lay, that he worshipped what was not a divine hypostasis. Cyril therefore uses the words, 'bring into the world' and 'God-bearing,' in their popular sense, without discussing whether, in a case so exceptional as the Incarnation, they do not necessarily bear a different meaning; whether, in fact, Christ is not brought into the world, and Mary a mother, the instant he was conceived. This was a distinction which it was not necessary in writing against Nestorius to insist upon. If Christ is adorable at his birth, he is adorable before it: directly the Angels knew of the existence of that human nature, which was one Person with God, they would adore it. When St. Cyril speaks, *as if* they did not know of its existence till its birth, he is only using a graphic and imaginative way of putting before us the fact, that they then gained experimental knowledge of those prophetically revealed passions and glories of God, at which they had long desired to be gazing†.

\* Vide part ii. chap. 3.

† 1 Pet. i. 12. See his remarks on this text, c. Nest. p. 141—2. It is not likely

that Angels would have a *μάταια καὶ κενὴ ὁρῆσις*, as Aristotle calls it, and so the present tense, *ἐπιθυμοῦσιν*, may have re-

13. This premised, it will be clear what is to be said of those passages in which Cyril speaks of some increase of adoration after the Ascension: they cannot prove an increase of adorableness in Christ, as that would be against the whole current of Cyril's teaching<sup>a</sup>; but they do shew, that when Cyril speaks, as if the Nativity was the time when they came to adore that human nature, it does not follow, that he thought they were not able to discern with whom Mary was with child<sup>b</sup>. All he means is, that the miracle of the Nativity, like that of the Ascension, was an occasion on which they paid him adoration. If this were not so, his statements would be not apparently but really inconsistent, when he speaks at one time of the full and unerring knowledge possessed by Angels, at another of their learning things unknown before. For as all theologians think that the Angels have the beatific vision, and none think that they therefore know future contingencies<sup>i</sup>, or the secret of man's heart<sup>k</sup>, so none

ference to that continual increase of experimental knowledge, furnished them by Jesus in the Sacrament. On the Experimental Knowledge of Angels, see Suarez de Angelis, ii. 12 §. 13.

<sup>a</sup> Petav. de Inc. lib. vi. cap. 6. §. 1. Ante omnia vehementer hoc in lectorum animis defixum esse cupio.....cum de auctoris vel operis cujuspiam statu judicando agitur, non ex unâ alterâve hinc inde collectâ sententiâ, ac ne ex verbis quidem solis de eo ferendum esse judicium: sed ex perpetua, et continenti oratione; tum vero ex mente, ac proposito Scriptoris, quod per universi operis corpus tanquam succus quidam

vitalis diffunditur.

<sup>b</sup> Even the heathen Artabanus told Xerxes, it was absurd to suppose a dress would hide him from the god. Herod. lib. vii. cap. 16. Much less would Mary's flesh hide God from an Angel.

<sup>i</sup> Aug. Epist. 173. §. 7. Hæc non tantum scientia, qualis quisque sit, verum etiam prescientia, qualis futurus sit, si est in sanctis et beatis Angelis, quomodo fuerit diabolus beatus aliquando, cum adhuc Angelus bonus esset sciens futuram iniquitatem suam et sempiternum supplicium; omnino non video. Anselm de Casu. D. i. cap. 21.

<sup>k</sup> De Lugo de Jure et Just. xiv. §. 7. No. 104. Ipsimet

would think them incapable of experimental knowledge, or of learning things which, until he chose to reveal them, were hidden in the heart of Christ. Perhaps there is no stronger proof, that the Fathers implicitly recognised the distinction afterwards explicitly drawn between infused and experimental knowledge, than such seemingly contradictory statements, as they make concerning the knowledge of Angels.

14. As so many of the holy Fathers have spoken of the Angels gaining some new knowledge of Christ at the Ascension, it will be in place to adduce here a passage from St. Cyril upon the subject. In excuse for St. Thomas's doubts he writes as follows: "When Christ went up into heaven itself, and made known to the virtues and principalities and powers above, and to the commanders and presidents of the angelic hosts, the force of the mystery relating to himself, he appeared again in this very form, that they *might believe* that the Word from the Father and in the Father really had become man for our sakes, and might know that such was the providence that he exercises in his own creatures' behalf, that he even died to win us life. But to make my meaning in so saying clearer to my hearers, I will quote the very words Isaias uttered upon this very subject. Now he says: 'Who is this that is coming from Edom? the redness of his garments is from Bosor.' Why, they who shout forth this, I mean the words, 'who is this that is coming from Edom,' that is, from the earth, are Angels, and intelligent powers. For they marvel at the Lord as he ascends to heaven, and seeing him.

Angeli quibus *omnia* conspicua sunt, non possunt hominis arcana penetrare, Deo nimirum, ut auctore et gubernatore na-

turæ, ea objecta occultante, ut naturam rationabilem in possessione suorum bonorum tueatur.

who just now was empurpled with his own blood, they say to him, (from) *not* having *yet* understood the mystery, 'Why are thy garments red, and thy vestments as from a trodden winepress?' For to new wine, and that just trodden out, they compare the goodly colour of his blood. And what saith Christ to them? First, that it may be seen that he is God by nature, he says, 'I, that speak justice,' using the 'speaking' again for 'teaching:' but he who teaches justice, must unquestionably be a lawgiver, and if a lawgiver, how can he be else than God? [seeing he abrogated or added to laws God had enacted<sup>1</sup>.] Then the Angels say to him, Christ as it were displaying to them the prints of the nails the while, 'What are these wounds in the middle of thy hands? But to them the Lord replies: 'Those with which I was wounded in the house of my beloved.' . . . . If therefore Christ, when he wished to certify the holy Angels that he really had become man, and had undergone the cross for our sakes, and had risen and come to life again from the dead, was not satisfied with words only, but shewed the signs of his sufferings; what is there wonderful or strange, if, when he wished to deliver the blessed Thomas himself from unbelief, he shewed him the prints of the nails<sup>m</sup>?"

15. The effusion of the Holy Spirit, which depended upon the Ascension, would furnish another reason why the Angels should then adore God: for his promises need not so excite their devotion, as to preclude our conceiving them to exercise it afresh at their fulfilment. That effusion of the Spirit fitted man for approaching Christ in a new

<sup>1</sup> See Thesaur. p. 303. d. p. 463. c. p. 764. b. See fur-

<sup>m</sup> In Joan. p. 1106—7. cf. ther on St. Ephrem, p. 283. e.

and different manner, as the following passage will shew us. After noticing, that before his resurrection our Lord was touched, not only by the Magdalen, but also by sundry others, he proceeds to give the reason, why he forbade her to touch him till he ascended to heaven, as follows; "At that time it was through the economy lawful even for those who were still unclean, and had both body and mind polluted, to touch without hindrance even the very holy flesh of Christ himself, and to reap every sort of blessing from him. But when he had fulfilled the economy by which he was like us, and had endured the cross itself and death upon the cross, and come to life again, and had exhibited his own nature as superior to death, then he hinders those who come to him, and does not readily allow them to touch the holy flesh itself, making this an example to the holy churches in dealing with his Sacrament . . . . Therefore it was not any longer lawful for those uncircumcised, i. e. who were unclean, to touch his sacred Body, but for those only who were made clean through the unseen circumcision of the Spirit . . . . But we cannot have the circumcision of the Spirit in us, unless the Holy Spirit be made to dwell in us by faith and holy baptism. How then could it be else than proper for Mary to be kept away till then from touching his holy Body, seeing she had not yet received the Spirit. For though Christ had been raised from the dead, yet the Spirit was not yet given to mankind by the Father through him, seeing it was after he had gone up to God the Father, that he sent him down to us." . . . . Following this example, "we keep off from the holy table those who know his Godhead, and have already confessed the faith, those, i. e. who are still

catechumens, yet have not got the riches of the Holy Spirit<sup>a</sup>." From this passage alone his belief in the Real Presence, through which Christ is touched, would be clear: 'that we might not recoil in fear at the sight of flesh and blood lying openly on the tables, God herein accommodated himself to our weakness', as he elsewhere observes, and thus concealed himself. But, in point of fact, he was driven not only by his own devotion, but by Nestorius's arguments, to insist very often upon the doctrine of the Real Presence, and the adoration paid to the one Christ in the flesh would never have been spoken of, if Christ had not still been present with us in the Sacrament.

16. In a passage already given<sup>p</sup>, we have seen that Nestorius endeavoured to shew that we partook not of God but man in the Eucharist; and Cyril answered, that at that rate we should be partaking of man, and guilty of cannibalism. Nestorius also endeavoured to shew, in pursuance of the same heretical argument, that if it was not man which we eat, then we must be consuming the Divinity by degrees. He also contended, that Christ's body was to be worshipped along with his Divinity, in such sense as virtually, though not in words, to make two adorations, one for the flesh, and another for the Divinity. Now as the answer made again and again to this is, that we adore the flesh with one adoration with the Word; and as we know, when it was that that flesh was held<sup>q</sup> to be present; the appeal to

<sup>a</sup> p. 1085—6.

<sup>o</sup> See on Ephrem, p. 170.

n. b.

<sup>p</sup> Above, §. 5.

<sup>q</sup> See de Ador. p. 94. p. 97.

p. 297. p. 362. p. 393. p. 419,  
d. p. 424. p. 457. p. 596. c. p.  
597. e. p. 605. a. c. Nest. p. 109.  
p. 156. p. 192. p. 236. in Joan.  
p. 276. b. p. 312. c. p. 324-5. p.

existing practice would shew when and where this adoration was used, if no direct testimony could be produced. But the following passage brings the two ideas of real presence and adoration into direct contact. "Small then were the good of the unbloody Sacrifice, because, forsooth, there is no getting at the nature of the Godhead to consume it along with the flesh<sup>a</sup>; because we have not been made masters of impossibilities, and have not the Incorporeal to eat bare and alone! You seem, however, to me to have forgotten, that it is by no means the nature of the Godhead that lies exposed upon the holy tables of our churches, but the very body of that Word who sprung from the Father; and the Word is God by nature, and truly. Why then do you confuse all things, and ignorantly jumble them, and all but ridicule the bread which came to us from heaven, which gives life to the world, because, in the language of theologians, it is not called the Godhead, but rather the body of him who became man for us, that is, of the Word of God the Father? Or why do you call it the Lord's body at all, if you do not know that it is divine and God's? . . . . But, in truth, your meaning is not orthodox, and you believe Immanuel to be a God-bearing man: in the next place, utterly disregarding orthodox ideas and language, you fancy . . . . St. Paul will help you out by turning away, from the straight and approved course, the meaning of what he said rightly and sincerely. For, (you go on to

354.b.p.361.c.p.366.c.p.377.a.  
p. 362. d. p. 379. d. p. 398. d.  
p. 1001-2. in Luc. as above; ad  
Regin. p. 91. d. are some of  
the places where Cyril ex-  
presses this belief. Leontius  
tells us, ap. Canis xi. p. 577. as

has been said above, that the  
Nestorians of his day disbe-  
lieved the Real Presence; and  
that Theodore made a new  
Mass, full of blasphemies. p.  
578.

<sup>a</sup> comp. ad Regin. p. 35. a.



say,) ‘let us learn whose the death is, from the words, ‘until he come,’ [in the text, ‘as often as you shall eat this bread and drink the chalice, you shall shew the death of the Lord until he come.’] Who then is it that is to come? ‘They shall look upon him whom they pierced.’ He will come then who suffered death humanly, and was raised divinely, and went up to heaven, who also exults in the seat of the unutterable Godhead, and sits along with the Father, whiles about him in a circle there stand the Seraphim and the powers above, who are not ignorant what degree of homage they owe him, seeing that every virtue, power, or lordship, adores him. For every knee shall bend to him, and every tongue confess that Jesus is the Lord, to the glory of God the Father. But he will come, as I said, not appearing in our low condition, but rather in glory, such as well beseemeth God, while heaven and the spirits above are in attendance upon him, as God and King, and stand beside the Lord of all. If then it be not so much the Word of God the Father in the flesh, or become man, but (as you say) a God-bearing man, that has a body’s side, and bore the piercing of it, how comes he to be seen upon the throne of the Godhead most high, as though he was given us as a sort of fourth, after the holy Trinity, a new God? How came you not to shudder at this common man, but thus devise a worship for the creature? Are we then still shut fast in the ancient swathes? Has the holy multitude of the spirits above insulted God, and fallen into error along with ourselves? If we have been set free from the old deception, and reject the adoration of the creature as impious, why would you make us man-worshippers again, and bring the old charge

against us into force again'?" It is plain here, that man-worshipping and man-eating are connected, as the result of the Nestorian doctrine, that the sacrifices of the ancients to creatures are by allusion contrasted with the unbloody Sacrifice, and that the old heathen charge against Christians of slaying and feeding upon an infant\* is regarded as true upon the Nestorian theory. This sacrifice we see is present on the altar; and as St. Cyril regarded the Sacrifice of Christ to be one and unchanging, continually offered† by Christ the High Priest in heaven as if in a tent, it is plain in what way he thought the same adorable Sacrament became present upon earth, and why he passes so easily from the adoration of angels to that of men.

17. This doctrine may be illustrated by what he says of the Transfiguration in the following passage: "What was the need of shewing his hands and his side, if, according to the silly view of some people, he had not risen with his own flesh? For if he had wished the disciples to think any thing else about him, why did he not rather appear to them in a different form, and by putting a slight upon the figure of the flesh, call them off to different notions about him? But now we find he has taken so much pains to have the resurrection of the flesh hereafter duly believed, that when the season called upon him to change the form of his own body to one un-

\* c. Nest. p. 116—17. Dial. p. 731. See Mai's Pref. to Cyril. in Lucam, A. C. vol. x. p. xxi.

† Vide Kortholdt de Calumn. Pagan. p. 546. Braun ad Justin. M. p. 20, 25. Elmenhorst ad Minuc. Oct. cap. ix. t. c. Nest. p. 74, 75. Thes. p. 214. c.

\* In Joan. p. 1091. e. comp. p. 1098, 9. Leo also says, that a

reason of the Transfiguration was, quod licet intellexissent in eo majestatem Dei, ipsius tamen corporis quo Divinitas tegebatur potentiam nesciebant. Sermon. li. §. 2. Berti de Incarn. p. 90. Gott. iii. tr. ii. q. 1. §. 3. dub. 3. Bellarm. vol. i. p. 199. p. 239. Thomassin, iv. 13. §. 14. §. 18.

speakingly glorious and supernatural, he allowed it by an economy to appear again what it had been, that he might not be thought to have one different from that in which he suffered death upon the cross. For that the glory of his sacred body would not have been endurable to our eyes, if Christ had pleased to display it, even before he went up to the Father, you will easily understand, if you consider the Transfiguration which was shewn at one time in the mountain to the holy disciples." It is plain from this, that he looks upon the glory of Christ's body as something inherent in it from the first, but miraculously veiled from ordinary eyes, because that glory could not be borne by them. Hence, wherever and whenever faith could discover it, it was equally the object of adoration; and if the tradition mentioned by Origen<sup>a</sup> be correctly reported, viz. that Christ transfigured himself at other times before those worthy to see it, the angels may have seen him in this form at his Nativity. His body then at all times was capable of adoration, because at all times one with God. He did not by the Resurrection confer upon the flesh a capacity for being adored which it had not before, but took from it the capacity for suffering. As Adam in Paradise was able not to sin, but not as yet not able to sin; so the flesh of Christ on earth was able not to suffer, but not as yet not able to suffer. If in the former state Angels could adore that flesh, much more can man adore it in the latter. And that this glorified and life-giving flesh is what is touched in the Eucharist, is plain from what the holy doctor says upon the words of our Saviour to the Magdalene. Neither does it seem that this doctrine is any way opposed by the

<sup>a</sup> Vide Ben. ad Orig. Tom. xii. in Matth. 35.

doctrine he so often states, that by the Sacrament of the Altar *we* are made to be of one body with Christ: for as in the days of his flesh he was the most perfect worshipper, so now in the days of his glory he is able by communicating himself to make other worshippers perfect to the uttermost.

18. It may be added here, that our Lord in speaking to the Magdalene said, 'I ascend to *my* God and to your God,' as well as 'to my Father and your Father.' Up to the last therefore God was not only his co-equal Father on account of his divine Nature, but also his God, whom in his human nature he could adore with supreme worship. Hence after he is gone into heaven, St. John represents him several times as speaking not only of his Father, but of his *God*. Thus he speaks of 'the Paradise of my God'; the 'presence of my God'; of 'the temple of my God,' 'the name of my God,' and 'the city of my God'; where he exults, as it were, in the title he had used while redeeming us upon the Cross. Indeed, in the Apocalypse the Lamb is in such way put forward as an object of adoration, as to seem as if he had a separate hypostasis: had we been without the other Scriptures, and been left without a Church, to make a religion for ourselves out of the Apocalypse, possibly we should have drawn Nestorian conclusions\*. But such passages have a distinct use: they serve strongly to shew, that Christ continues to have the adorable flesh in which he was slain, and in which he continues as our high priest to offer to the eternal Trinity an unintermitting sacrifice.

\* Apoc. ii. 7.

† Ibid. iii. 2.

‡ Ibid. v. 12.

§ e. g. from such expressions

as τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου καὶ τῷ ἀρνίῳ: but see the whole of the fifth chapter.

19. A question will obtrude itself upon the mind here, which it is not easy to determine altogether. Christ is at this rate still capable of acts of *Latria*: is he still capable of acts of *Dulia*? if the flesh of Christ underwent changes like our bodies, shifted away and had not at the end of his life a perfect identity with his flesh at the beginning of his life, and yet was at all times adorable because a part of his Person; much more must the enduring soul upon whose identity he had imprinted the unchangeableness of his divine nature be adorable. Now as it was not the flesh, but the soul, which shewed respect to Mary, St. Joseph, or the Angels, why, it may be said, should not the soul, which preserved its identity throughout, still preserve its powers of *Dulia* or religious reverence towards other beings? The power of *Latria* still survives in that unintermitting Sacrifice which Christ offers for us in the tabernacle not made with hands; it survives because the human nature survives, why then does not the power of *Dulia* survive on the same ground? This is a question which it is well to have raised here, though a fitter occasion for considering the answer to it will occur by and by. Meantime it may serve to shew some persons, that 'there are more things in heaven and earth' to meditate upon 'than are dreamt of in their philosophy.'

## CHAP. XI.

UPON THE ADVANCE IN GRACE AND WISDOM ASCRIBED TO CHRIST.

1. THE distinction drawn at the end of the last chapter, between a body able not to suffer, and a body not able to suffer, may serve to express the difference between Christ's flesh before, and that flesh after, the Resurrection. We must not, however, assert that he had a body able not to suffer, in any such sense as to deny that he had a body truly substantial with ours, corruptible, so far as its corruptibility implied nothing of the guilt of sin, capable of hunger, weariness, pain, and death, but not obliged to undergo them unless he had chosen. Now what was true of his body, was supposed by certain heretics to be true of his soul: 'if the body of Christ was corruptible, they said, we ought to say also that he was ignorant of some things<sup>a</sup>.' But it is plain that we cannot argue in this way with any certainty, even to things of the same kind, which ignorance and corruptibility are not: we cannot say, if the body is divisible, the soul is: this, though it will be examined farther by and by, is a mere argument from analogy, from a proportion assumed to exist between the corruption and the body, ignorance and the soul. But ignorance was of no good to Christ, whereas corruptibility or mortality enabled him to undergo his salutary passion. A similar argument will prove just the reverse; if the body was inherently adorable,

<sup>a</sup> Themistius ap. Liberat. p. 137.

though not obviously so to the outward eyes<sup>b</sup>; the soul was absolutely full of light, though it appropriated to itself a semblance of ignorance. We have seen above<sup>c</sup>, that the advocate of heresy is made to urge the ignorance of the Son as a proof of his inferiority to the Father, additional to the proof that he was an adorer, and so not to be adored. Cyril briefly answers, that adoring and ignorance belong to human nature as such: he then further asserts, and that most distinctly, that Christ adored as man, and was lower than the Angels, who possess the beatific vision. At this rate he ought to allow a real inferiority to them in knowledge also, it may be argued, especially when we consider, that, after replying to the first part of the heretical objection, and being asked if the ignorance is to be ascribed likewise to the humanity, he says, that “a vast course of considerations, examined and approved, induced him to say without the least hesitation, that it is to be ascribed to the humanity<sup>d</sup>,” that is, this inferiority is not to be ascribed to the nature of the Word, conceived as Word and Wisdom of the Father. The rest of his answer shall be given by and by, when we treat of the objection drawn from the passage of Scripture here only alluded to. Enough has been said to remind the reader, how he speaks when arguing with Arians.

2. When arguing with Nestorians, he goes much deeper into the question, but seldom or never seems

<sup>b</sup> Ambrose de Incarn. §. 75. Verendum est, inquis, ne, si duos principales sensus aut geminam sapientiam Christo tribuimus, Christum dividamus. Numquid cum et divinitatem ejus adoramus et car-

nem, Christum dividamus?

<sup>c</sup> Chap. x. §. 5

<sup>d</sup> πλείστος ὅσος οὐκ ἀβασανίστων ἐννοιῶν ἐσμός. p. 628. b. but see the whole passage at the end of chap. xiii.

to me to go to the bottom of it. This will not seem unreasonable, if we consider what led the Nestorians to speak about our Lord's ignorance at all. Nestorius wanted to prove, that Christ arrived at the dignity of the priesthood by degrees, and offered a sacrifice for himself as well as for others<sup>f</sup>. This was a question which primarily concerned the flesh of Christ, not his soul: a priest must of necessity have something to offer, and something material is essential to the notion of a sacrifice. A *body* hast thou fitted to me, is the language of holy writ, when that sacrifice is coming into the world. If this body was adorable from the first, Nestorianism was false: there was no advance such as Nestorius contended for. Herod might have sacrificed Christ, as well as Pilate<sup>g</sup>: the infant would have been as efficacious a sacrifice as the Man. The whole controversy<sup>h</sup> is about the body of Christ, its consubstantiality with Mary's body, its fulness for sacrifice owing to its hypostatic union with God. The union of the soul with the divine Nature did not come prominently forward in the controversy, Nestorius<sup>i</sup> having availed himself of passages which speak of Christ's advance in wisdom and stature, and of his learning obedience from what he suffered, to prove that he advanced by degrees to the dignity of the priesthood. Hence we find that Cyril again and again speaks of the flesh of Christ, shews how such advance in wisdom was measured and regulated by the state of the flesh, insists so often in the controversy upon the adorableness of the flesh, urges the vivific power of the flesh in the Eucharist.

<sup>f</sup> Above, iii. §. 5.

<sup>g</sup> Lugo de Inc. xiv. n. 47. Si Christus ab initio vitæ suæ instituisset sacramentum Eucharistiæ, &c.

<sup>h</sup> See Cyril's words above, cap. ix. §. 4. and ad Succ. p. 143. d.

<sup>i</sup> Cyril. c. Nest. p. 84. Apol. p. 187. e. c. Theod. p. 234. d.



In this he is borne out by Scripture, which far oftener puts before us God made flesh than God made man. The controversy is about the two termini, God and flesh, and only incidentally has to do with the medium through which they were commonly said of old<sup>k</sup> to have been united. These remarks will help us to see, why, though Cyril very often ascribes to Christ a reasonable soul in order to stop the mouth of those who charged him with Apollinarianism, he yet does not make the state in which that soul was, a subject of direct discussion: thus they will help us also to understand the drift of the following passages.

3. "It seems," he says, in a dialogue written at the outbreak of Nestorianism, "that a second Son and Lord must be introduced, because there are certain people who cannot master the depth of holy writ. Now the wise Evangelist, when introducing the Word as become flesh, shews, that by an economy he allows his own *flesh* to go through the laws of its own nature. But it belongs to humanity to make such progress in age and wisdom, and I may say in grace too, as in some measure springs up in proportion to the growth attained by the body, and that understanding also, which each individual possesses. For there is one understanding in infants, and another in those who have become boys, [or are still older<sup>l</sup>.] Now it was not impos-

<sup>k</sup> See Petav. de Inc. iv. 13. §. 2. and Thomassin, iv. 9. who give no passage from St. Cyril to shew that he speaks as other Fathers did, of the soul as the medium through which the flesh was united to the Divinity.

<sup>l</sup> Ἐτέρα δ' αὖ ἐν τοῖς ἡδὴ παῖσι

is plainly the apodosis to some lost protasis: I have rendered with the Latin of Vulcanius, which not unfrequently represents a sounder text. I suspect it should be, ἑτέρα μὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς νηπίοις, ἑτέρα δ' ἐν τοῖς ἡ. π. καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦτο ἐστί.

sible or unattainable to him, as being God the Word who sprung from the Father, to raise the flesh that was united to him even at its earliest infancy, and bring it up at once to the measure of a full grown man<sup>m</sup>." "I would say too, that it would have been easy and feasible for him to have *exhibited*, when an infant, an astounding wisdom; but the thing would have had an air of monstrosity, and be unsuitable to the requisitions of the economy, for the mystery went noiselessly forward, and he gave therefore the proportions of humanity the sway over him. But among things that rank under the idea of resemblance to us, this comes also: for we advance little by little to what is greater, as time calls us to an increase of stature and of wisdom not unsuited to it. Being therefore perfect, and needing nothing whatever, nor consequently needing increase as God, he became like us<sup>n</sup>." And against Nestorius he urges a similar argument. "You say that the increase he had was one in wisdom. And yet how can this be else than ignorant to say? For we believe that Emmanuel was God, from the belly and womb of the Virgin, and came forth man, full unquestionably of the wisdom and grace which was naturally in him. What increase then should he receive, in whom are all the treasures of wisdom, who shares with God the Father the giving of grace from above? In what sense is he said to advance? It is, as I think, because God the Word proportioned to the age and growth of his own body

<sup>m</sup> Comp. August Epist. 137. §. 9. Quid si Omnipotens hominem ubicunque formatum non ex materno utero crearet sed repentinum inferret aspectibus?

Quod si nullus ex parvulo in juventam mutaret ætates . . . non hominem verum suscepisse ullo modo crederetur.

<sup>n</sup> Dial. p. 760. b.

the manifestation of the Word by those which were in him. For we should consider, that although he had become man like us, he studied at the first to be hidden, and dispensed, as it were noiselessly and with silence, the power of the mystery by degrees<sup>o</sup>." And presently after he says: "Would it not have been a thing utterly unusual and strange, and worthy of curiosity, if when a child he had made a display of wisdom suited to God? But since it was little by little, and proportionately to the body's age, that he made his wisdom widen out and be *manifest* to all, he might be said to advance, and with good reason. In what way then did he advance to the *priesthood* little by little? was it, say<sup>p</sup>, by being perfected in virtue? Next, tell me in what way or on what ground can a person doubt, that that which falls short of perfection in virtue is subject to blame, and is not worthy of entire admiration, or indeed rather is chargeable with sin? But it is certain that he did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth<sup>q</sup>, as it is written. Such a person then would be all-perfect in every thing, nor would he by any means come short of all that is wanted for success in virtue. But when was he else than perfect for what is good, who even in the womb was God<sup>r</sup>?" And in the Dialogue above cited he says: "Since Christ became a sweetsmelling sacrifice for us, by *displaying* in himself the human nature with no fault in it, we gained boldness in him and through him<sup>s</sup>."

<sup>o</sup> c. Nest. p. 86, 87.

<sup>p</sup> *Eltra* Aubert renders quod si est; i. e. if it was by virtue in what way, &c. What sense this gives, I cannot conceive. I suspect *eltra eltrè* should be read.

<sup>q</sup> 1 Pet. ii. 22. See in Jo. p. 531. where the same text is used to shew that he is God; and compare chap. viii. §. 15.

<sup>r</sup> Ibid. comp. contr. Theodoret, p. 235. e.

<sup>s</sup> p. 761. c.

4. The priest and the sacrifice are here contemplated as perfect, and the absence of actual sin used apparently as a proof of the absence of original sin, without which it is plain that he would not be perfect for what is good, as Cyril held the law in our members to be a continual hindrance thereto without the gift<sup>t</sup> of the Spirit, which gift we received from Christ's fulness. If this be so, it would be the flesh he would be still contemplating, its perfection in Christ, and its fitness for sacrifice from the womb. Again, in his Apologetic to the Orientals, he insists upon his words, "Dare not nonsensically assert, that we attach the advance in age, wisdom, and grace to the man; for *this methinks is nothing else than to divide the one Christ into two.*" "Being the Wisdom of him who begot him, he is *said* to advance in wisdom, although being all-perfect as God." What we say is, that "by an economic appropriation he made his own what belonged to the flesh, as having become flesh<sup>u</sup>." So against Theodoret he says, "Will they not be two sons, if he that knows all things is not the same with him who has the knowledge in measure; and if he who is perfect in wisdom and knows all the Father knows, is not the same with him who receives revelation by parts? But if he is one and the same Son, through the fact of the real unity . . . . then his will it needs be, both to know, and to *seem* not to know. For he also knew divinely, as being the Wisdom of the Father, but since he had taken upon him the measure of humanity, which is ignorant, he economically appropriates to himself even this with its other attributes, although, as I said just now, he was ignorant of

<sup>t</sup> See above, chap. ix. §. 20. p. 131. c. p. 217. d. p. 345. a.

<sup>u</sup> p. 172-3. Vide also in Jo. p. 448. a. p. 450. d.

nothing, but with the Father knew all things<sup>z</sup>." And on St. John he says: "We do not say, that Christ then became holy in the flesh, when the Baptist saw the Spirit descending; for he was holy when an embryo and in the womb, and so it was said to the Blessed Virgin; 'The Holy Spirit shall come upon thee, and the power of the Most High shall overshadow thee:' but the vision was granted as a sign to the Baptist. However, we do conceive that the flesh was sanctified by the Spirit after the likeness of the rest of the creation, seeing the Word, who is holy by nature and from the Father, anointed in him [i. e. the Spirit] his own temple. And knowing this, the Psalmist cried out, while he contemplated the Person of the Only-begotten in its humanity, 'God, even thy God, has anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows.' For when the Son anoints his holy temple, the Father is said to do this, because he does not work otherwise than through the Son<sup>y</sup>." Here again, as before, he is contemplating 'the holy and hallowing *body* of Christ,' and says nothing about the soul. All this is intelligible, if we suppose that the perfect union of the flesh with God was the main thing to which St. Cyril looked; he wanted to shew, that both the bloody and the unbloody sacrifice, which our High Priest and the priests under that High Priest offer, had no efficacy except it was really one with God; and therefore it is that he dismisses the question of advance in grace and wisdom by simply noticing, that if Christ took flesh, he must seem like man, and rule the display of his wisdom by the age of his body. The thing which is plain from these passages is, that Christ was full of grace and wisdom in the womb,

<sup>z</sup> p. 218. b.<sup>y</sup> in Joan. p. 993. a.

and came out of it armed, so to say, with that fullness. It is notorious, that Nestorius called the Christ of the orthodox a two-months' old or three-months' old God, against which blasphemy these assertions of Cyril about the union of the flesh with God in the womb are directed.

5. This appears to me to be the best and most honest way of viewing Cyril's doctrine, and the one which will rid us of difficulties which have sometimes been raised. The distinct question, what light and grace the soul of Christ had, is not a question upon which he entered at all directly, in the Nestorian controversy: it is only now and then when he is driven to it, that he says any thing upon the subject, and then it is not with a view of considering the created soul and its created wisdom apart, but with a view of shewing, that the unity of Christ's person gave his soul all communicable wisdom. For, "if the Spirit is said to search all things, even the depths of God, and the Spirit is Christ's Spirit, how should he be ignorant of what his Spirit knows exactly <sup>a</sup>?" He was accused, though most unjustly, of asserting with the Apollinarians, that the holy body of Christ had no soul<sup>b</sup>. But, as he regarded Christ's possession of a rational soul to be a ruled point, he does not directly combat this. "With Apollinarius's dogmas, he says, we have nothing whatever to do: for when men have been once condemned as defacing the faith, our duty is to regard them with abhorrence <sup>c</sup>." However, as he denied that the body was unchangeable owing to its union with the divine nature<sup>d</sup>, and asserted that this nature imprinted its own unchange-

<sup>a</sup> See chap. xii. §. 4.

<sup>b</sup> De Rect. F. p. 140. a.

<sup>b</sup> ad Succ. p. 150. c.

<sup>c</sup> Apol. p. 167. c.

<sup>d</sup> ad Succ. p. 150. e.

ableness on the soul<sup>e</sup>; if he secures adorableness to the mutable body, much more would he secure light to the unchanging soul, and to deny the possession of such light, is, as we have seen, 'nothing else than to divide the one Christ into two.' And although St. Cyril followed Athanasius in speaking of the soul of Christ as veiling the divine nature from the spirits in prison<sup>f</sup>, and therefore held of course, that both the elements of the human nature, the body *and* the soul, remained united to God in the Triduum; still the union with the body was that which, if established, made the strongest proof that the victim slain on Calvary was God. Now, as there is no redemption if this was not so, if it was not a divine Person who was both priest and victim, it is with that which Christ took from Mary, with which Cyril was chiefly concerned in the Nestorian controversy.

6. The quotations already given from St. Cyril will shew that he was a person of no ordinary acuteness: his eluding any full discussion of the questions of the double Procession and of Predestination shews, that he was too acute to be led away from the business in hand, even to most interesting cognate questions. It is very possible, that with his reach of mind and compass of learning, he saw that the discussion of such a question as the wisdom of our Lord's soul would lead him too far away from the business in hand. Nevertheless, all that he does say upon the subject most distinctly paves the way for the present Church's doctrine. To make Christ ignorant, with him is equivalent to dividing him into two Christs. The manifestation of Christ's wisdom with him has relation to the age of his adorable body. Christ is, with him, even as a

<sup>e</sup> above, p. 153. n. i.

<sup>f</sup> above, p. 197. m.

embryo full of grace, and able to communicate it: his flesh, with him, was always so united to God, as even then to be life-giving, and able to touch Mary's womb with a divine and sanctifying touch.

7. As this work proceeds, other intimations of what the Church's doctrine upon this subject was, will come before the reader. Thus when Eusebius or Apollinaris make their Christ full of wisdom from the first, though they do it with an heretical animus, yet if the Church had not a doctrine which they wished to ape and travestie, they would not have put forth such statements at all. So again all that the Fathers ascribe to the Baptist in the womb, is proof of what they would, *à fortiori*, have ascribed to Christ, or his blessed Mother. But "as the man in Christ," to use Petavius' words, "was sanctified by the very divinity itself of the Word, and that happened at the very same moment at which the conjunction of both took place;" any such passages of ancient writers as appear to refer the sanctification of Christ to another period, must be explained to mean only the exterior use of the Spirit; lest any accession of sanctity and of interior communication of the Spirit should seem to have taken place in Christ as time went on<sup>s</sup>." And again he says of the beatific vision always enjoyed by Christ; "I agree willingly with the most solid and learned theologians, who, though they do not yet think this to belong to the dogmas of faith, because there is no place of Scripture to declare it clearly, nor has it been decreed and settled upon by the authority of a general council or other rule of faith, yet think it close upon error and heretical to deny, that Christ's soul, even when surrounded by a mortal body, saw

<sup>s</sup> De Inc. xi. 9. §. 8. &c.



God face to face, and had reached the supreme degree of eternal felicity<sup>h</sup>."

8. "To put an end to this chapter and this discussion, I would lay it down as the certain, more common, and received opinion, according to the sense and authority of the ancients, that Christ as man acquired nothing either of wisdom or knowledge, either of grace or virtue, as time went on: and that nothing lay hid from him of things either past or present, or some time about to be. . . . This sentiment concerning Christ our Lord, which is common to all Catholics, we shall give strength to by the decree of a general council. The fifth council in the 12th canon, against Theodore of Mopsuesta, decreed as follows; "If any one defends Theodore of Mopsuesta, who said the Word of God was one Person, and Christ another who was troubled by the passions of the soul and the desires of the flesh, and got himself quit by degrees from a lower position, and thus was ameliorated by an advance effected through works, and made blameless by means of his life and conversation, was baptized as a mere man into the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and through baptism received the grace of the Holy Ghost, and was counted worthy of adoption, let him be anathema<sup>i</sup>."

<sup>h</sup> Ibid. iv. §. 8.

<sup>i</sup> Ibid. v. §. 12.

## CHAP. XII.

## PROOFS FROM SCRIPTURE AND REASON OF THE FOREGOING DOCTRINE.

1. IF the blessed Virgin was Mother of God, she began to be Mother as soon as God had a human nature: hence it is important to put together some passages, which shew that this human nature was conscious from the first, and created in a state, which at least is as good as that of Adam. The doctrine contained in holy Scripture leads us to ascribe much more to him, who was one with God, and the source of all light and grace to others. We have seen, that it was impossible he should become to us Wisdom and Sanctification and Redemption, unless he was one Person from the first. Any other theory leads by a most direct road to the horrible doctrine of human merit. All men being not only born but conceived in sin, God determined by the sacrifice of his Son to rescue them: if then the man Christ Jesus was not during the whole time of his conception one with God, he needed that Sacrifice which was foreordained to redeem his race: and as that Sacrifice had no existence then, and merit in God's sight to purge away sin was, by God's decree, impossible without the foresight of such a Sacrifice; the man Christ Jesus either merited in the womb, or was one with God in the womb. If one with God, then indeed there is no need of human merits, but there is need of assuming, that a soul and body in perfect, unincreasable, hypostatic union with God, should be full of grace and truth. Lest, however,

those who have no Church to go by, should think this a mere deduction of human reason, unauthorized by Scripture, it may be well to cite some texts which shew our Lord's fulness of grace and wisdom from first to last. In so doing, I shall content myself in the text with arguing from the Bible only, and merely remind the reader, that if this, that, *or* the other text can be eluded, the tendency of them all taken together is unmistakeably in favour of the Church's teaching.

2. The Angel says to Mary: that Holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God. In this version the Vulgate and Anglican text are agreed, but the Greek has, which '*is being born*,' or begotten of thee, which will imply, that the Infant is then holy. But when the Infant in the womb was taken to Elizabeth, Elizabeth calls Mary the Mother of her Lord, and the babe leaps for joy in her womb. God was her Lord, and he had anointed his human nature with the oil of gladness, and hence we see how St. John came to rejoice: the oil of gladness overflowed to his fellows, and St. John yet in the womb of his mother was filled with the Holy Spirit, as had been promised. Elizabeth too was filled with the Holy Spirit, and perceived Mary's dignity, viz. that she was the Mother of the Lord. Hence the infant Jesus is (as Cyril says) both holy and hallowing; he both has and communicates graces even from the womb. Certainly this is not a demonstration, but there are effects, and there is no need, when the Word is very near,

\* It is τὸ γεννώμενον ἅγιον, not τὸ ἅγιον γεννώμενον, which might be forced to mean, 'the Holy thing when being born;' γεννάω is the word used in Mat. i. Abraham begat Isaac, &c.

See Cyril in Jo. p. 124. 125. who contrasts John with Jesus, observing that of John it is said, he shall be filled, while Jesus is spoken of as holy already.

to ascend up to heaven, for the cause of them. It was fit that Mary should then sing her Magnificat, when the Lord within her had began his Sanctificat.

3. St. John says, Jesus knew from the beginning who they were that did not believe, and who should betray him. From what beginning? from himself, who is styled the beginning of the creation of God? to be a beginning of creation he must have a created nature, and be a first-born among many brethren. Or, at least, it is unnecessary to say of God he knew from the beginning who should betray him; it is useless to say it of the Word, except it be said also of the Word made flesh<sup>b</sup>. It is plain too, that St. John wishes to commend to us the patience of Jesus, who although he knew who was to betray him, yet bore with all. With the same knowledge with which he knew that one of them was a devil, he knew from the beginning who should betray him; and plainly it were a strange encomium of his divine nature to say it had a knowledge, which it did not communicate to the nature that he took to suffer; and a patience in spite of that knowledge, which David knew that God had long before. The foreknowledge his human nature had from the beginning of what it was to suffer, is also alluded to by St. John at the end<sup>c</sup>. Jesus goes to suffer, knowing that his hour is come, and knowing that the Father had given all things into his hands; and from the knowledge of the glory to come, despised in his human nature the shame which could not touch his divine. He knows plainly what it is in Judas's

<sup>b</sup> A. Lapide in loc. p. 352. *humanitati suæ communicabat*  
Joan. vi. 65. *Christus quia ab initio conceptionis ejus-*  
Deus, præsciebat futura ab dem.  
æterno, et hanc præscientiam <sup>c</sup> John xiii. 1. 3.

heart to do ; Amen, Amen, I say unto you, one of you shall betray me\*. It is not, Thus saith the Lord, but, I say. The knowledge which enhanced the merit of his suffering was the knowledge infused into that nature which suffered, and this knowledge he had from the beginning.

4. Again, "when he comes into the world he says, Sacrifice and offering thou wouldest not, but a body hast thou fitted to me. Holocausts for sin did not please thee: then said I, Behold, I come to do thy will; in the chapter of the book it is written of me, that I should do thy will, O God." Now as God, he was in the world long before, and the world was made by him, and the world knew him not. It was therefore, when he came to his own creatures by taking their nature, that he came into the world, and a body was fitted to him: then too he was conscious what he was about, he knew that he came to be betrayed and made a Sacrifice, such as should supersede all other sacrifices. I come to do thy will, he says. He is conscious then what he is about, when he comes into the world, that is, surely at the time when he laid hold of the seed of Abraham, that is, in the womb of Mary. He came to do God's will, in which will (not himself but) we are sanctified, because he sanctified himself: but we are sanctified by the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all: i. e. with the bloody sacrifice, though the 'un-

\* It is true that this text apart from others might mean from the beginning of his ministry, i. e. he did not elect Judas in ignorance. But if this knowledge was infused then and not before, the human nature was *more* united to God then than before.

' Heb. ix. 23. Without deciding the meaning of this text, one thing is plain from it, and that is, that there may be sacrifices in the Gospel in some real sense, though in one sense there is but one sacrifice once offered.

bloody sacrifices which he offered in the temple not made with hands, are also better than the legal ones. He knows then God's will, when he takes the seed of Abraham, and promises to do that will, and to do away with the need of sacrifices. Hence he had grace then, and did not gain it by the sacrifice; lo, I come to do thy will, not to have power given to do it, as the Nestorians say, but furnished with power to do it by the oneness of his Person.

5. In the midst of his passion the Psalmist describes him as looking back to this time. 'Thou art he that didst draw me out from the womb, (and art) my hope from my mother's breasts. Upon thee was I thrown from the womb, from my mother's belly thou art my God<sup>g</sup>.' Now if this had been said of some common man, we should perhaps have seen nothing more in it, than a general expression for the good Providence of God over us from the first. But it is quite in accordance with St. Paul's way of treating passages which speak of Christ<sup>h</sup>, as having much in every syllable, to assume that more is meant than this. We may fairly assume that his miraculous birth from Mary is intended by the words, 'Thou art he that didst draw me forth.' Hope too properly belongs to a man who has attained reason, and this would express that he trusted in God even then to supply from those sacred breasts<sup>i</sup> support for that

<sup>g</sup> See Trombelli de Beatâ, ii. p. 389. for authorities, for applying the former part of the verse to Christ's miraculous birth.

<sup>h</sup> Gal. iii. 16.

<sup>i</sup> I have put this so, because the Hebrew "מבטחי אל ש" implies, Hast caused me to rely upon my mother's breasts, not 'hast caused me, when on

them, to rely on thee, although this is indirectly involved in the words, when taken with the context. For a person capable of adoring, would rely consciously, not by an animal instinct, such as heretics may if they please prefer to ascribe to the infant Jesus. V. Austin, *infra*, note k.

nature in which he was to recognise his Mother upon Calvary. Moreover, Christ is represented as adoring the Father in his human nature. Thou art my God from the womb, that is, from my conception, as in Greek or Latin we say from boyhood, not so as to exclude that period, but so as to take it in<sup>k</sup>. Thou art my God, is said then in the same sense as, I go to my God and your God, or as in the places of the Apocalypse quoted before, that is, I go to him who through my human nature, is not my Father only, but my God.

6. When he goes up to the Passover at twelve years of age, he allows a portion of his knowledge to appear to the doctors, and when reproved by his parents for leaving them, he speaks as though they ought to have learnt from what he had told them already, that he must be about his Father's business, or as if they ought to have known from the Psalm that he had 'come to do thy will, O God.' It is after this display of his wisdom that it is said that he advanced in wisdom. Now as his growing and waxing strong in spirit is mentioned before, after his return from Jerusalem, this seems to confirm the doctrine of St. Cyril, that the growth was only in external manifestation of the Spirit. Verse 40 is not so explicit an avowal of his increase as verse 52: the first visit to Jerusalem did not manifest his glory near so much as the twelfth: at the first, a sacrifice is offered for him who came to destroy legal sacri-

<sup>k</sup> Cassian, p. 1165. Vide Corderii Catena in loc. p. 393. and Corder. p. 408. *Κακώσσει*, which he renders *originalem ærumnam*, probably should be *κενώσει*, if not *κνήσει*, though I am aware that *ᾠδῖνες*, &c. are laxly used of our Lady's 'tra-

vail,' so to say. Epist. 140. §. 31. Quasi spes ejus quæ in Deo est, a matris uberibus ei cœperit, non et ante in ipso utero! . . . An, forte, etc. which gets over the difficulty as well as one ignorant of Hebrew could.

fices, and he pretends to need grace, who ere then had given John the Baptist grace: at the twelfth visit, he who had inspired Elizabeth and his Mother before, now wisely discloses to the doctors as much of his hidden treasures as he thinks fit. Hence St. Paul speaks of the mystery of God the Father and Christ Jesus, in whom are all the *hidden* treasures of wisdom and knowledge. Now Jesus *Christ* is Jesus *anointed*, and it is to him, and not to the Word without the flesh, that these hidden treasures are said to belong<sup>1</sup>.

7. When he comes to teach, he says solemnly to Nicodemus, Amen, Amen, I say to thee, we speak that we know, and testify that we have seen. Who are these of whom he says We, but the three Persons of the Trinity, who as they did all the works which the Son did, so also may be said to speak his words? for there is but one God, and the works of the Trinity are wholly inseparable. As the Father did the works in the Son, even when in the flesh, so the Son spoke only what he had heard of the Father. Yet what he spoke and testified with the flesh of his lips, that assuredly his soul knew and *saw*. Hence the only-begotten Son, who declared the Father with his lips, knew him with his soul, else he would not speak what he knew, or testify what he had *seen*. Yet he says, I speak that which I have *seen* with my Father: it is plain then that he saw God, unless without reason you refer the speaking to the reasonable embodied soul, and the seeing to the Word, which would savour of the heresy of Apollinaris. If then he knew the Father, what was there

<sup>1</sup> *ἐν φ.*, not *ἐν οἷς*. The words, 'they understood not, &c.' will be explained by and by.

<sup>m</sup> Le Quien Diss. Damasc. above, p. 200. i. The force of

this argument chiefly lies in Christ speaking what he has *seen*, rather than in the 'we,' if any one objects to insisting on this. See 1 Jo. v. 7.



greater for him to know? Did he not allow his disciples at his passion<sup>a</sup> to draw from his saying, I came forth from the Father, and the rest, the following conclusion: 'Now we know that thou knowest all things, and needest not that any man should ask thee?' Who is this that came from the Father, and goes to the Father, but the man Christ Jesus, and not the bare Word, who never came forth, or went back, except in his human nature? And when did he come forth, save when for us men and for our salvation he came down from heaven?

8. Again, does he not say, that no one knows the Father except he to whom the Son will reveal him? Does he not say of the Holy Ghost himself, that he shall not speak of himself, but whatsoever he shall hear that he shall speak, he shall receive of mine and tell it to you. If then the eternal and everlasting Spirit receives his knowledge and life and subsistency from the Son, that is, in other words, proceeds from the Son; the Son has the fulness of the Spirit to bestow, and was able in his own right to fill the soul he had created in union with himself, with a superabundant knowledge of those deep things of God which the Spirit searches. For as to speak and to hear with us are signs of a difference of person, God accommodating himself to us, uses phrases, in which we express the communication of knowledge, to signify the derivation of distinct Persons in the Holy Trinity. And as the knowledge of God is Himself, and not as in creatures something infused from another source, when the Son is said to hear of the Father, or the Spirit of the Son, it is meant that the Son receives his Father's substance from him, as the Spirit receives that substance from the Son who is one with the Father.

<sup>a</sup> John xvi. 30.

Hence St. Anselm takes the expression°, ‘No one knoweth the Father except the Son reveal him,’ to include the Holy Spirit: the Holy Spirit derives his knowledge from the Son, because his knowledge is the self-same thing as his substance. He obtains that one Divine Substance, which is all three Persons, from the Son, not by a temporal and gradual advance, but by an eternal and entire spiration of the whole Substance of the Godhead from all eternity. In the fullest sense then the Son had the Spirit to give, when he united that nature to himself, by the lips and actions of which he revealed the Father. He had that Spirit to give who searcheth all things, even the deep things of God, and he allows the disciples unrebuked to tell him he knew *all* things. He does not say *to them*, why callest thou me all-knowing? there is none all-knowing but God. They called him Lord and Master, and they said well, for the servant knows not his Lord’s will, but the Son makes others free; and though he had taken the nature or form of a servant, yet was not a servant, but chose disciples, as knowing the mind of the Lord, and being the Counsellor and mighty God even when a child<sup>p</sup>.

9. This preeminence of knowledge will appear more plainly, if we consider some particular things,

° De Process. Sp. Sancti, xii. xiii.

<sup>p</sup> Lest any one should object to this use of Isaiah ix. 6. that it says, *et vocabitur*, which may imply a separate and subsequent calling, I refer him to the Hebrew, **בְּכֵן נִתֵּן וִיקְרָא שְׁמוֹ**: nobody will deny here, that **וִיקְרָא** implies an action contemporaneous with **נִתֵּן**. The fact is, that the whole thing is

described in the Hebrew as past, because of the certain predestination of God. The Greek translators, afraid in several places of teaching polytheism to the heathen, have here a remarkable expression, ‘Angel of the great Counsel,’ which shews that they regarded the *Child* when born as one who was to be full of wisdom.

which shew the extent of his knowledge. Thus, for instance, when he says, on his own authority, that the Angels do not know of the day and hour of the judgment, it is plain that he has, to speak humanly, an idea of what the Angels do know. When he says, Satan has desired to have you to sift you as wheat, he shews that he knows the secret thoughts not of men only, but of devils<sup>1</sup>. When he saw all the kingdoms of the earth at the temptation, he must have had some supernatural faculty by which he beheld them. It appears, then, that there is no order of rational creatures to which the knowledge of that soul did not reach, unless you suppose the Word made revelations to his own soul from time to time, as he did to the Prophets; and that he sometimes knew God, and in him his creatures, and sometimes forgot them: unless though Christians, who have known Christ a long while, you have no higher idea of him than an impure Samaritan woman had, upon a slight acquaintance. As to future events, he not only foretold the particulars of his passion, the answer to be made to the man of whose ass and colt he had need, and how that answer would satisfy him; the minute fact that a man bearing a pitcher of water would guide them to the chamber, (like baptism to the altar,) and other things which might be mentioned: but he also had a knowledge of a multitude of events after his resurrection, as is implied in several cases. Thus, for instance, he foreknew by what passion the sons of Zebedee would glorify God, when he foretold that they should drink of his cup. He sees that there would be heretics, who would deny the unity of the Church, when he prays not for the Apostles only, that they may be one, but for all who in his name should believe through his dis-

<sup>1</sup> Lugo. Disp. xix. §. 1. n. 6.

ciples. When he tells the Jews, that the blasphemy against the Holy Spirit should not be forgiven either in this or the next world, he not only implies a knowledge of what is in either world irremissible sin, but that some of themselves had come to that state of hardened impenitence, which the Son, to whom all judgment is committed, would not fail to punish eternally. He knows not only how the Queen of the South would rise in the judgment, but the proportions of punishment which Tyre, Sidon, Sodom and Gomorrha, would have, when contrasted with those cities in which he had preached. Nay, not only actual future events are before him, but possible ones; for he knows how Tyre and Sidon would have behaved, if the mighty works done in those latter cities had been done in them; and consequently he knew the dispositions and capacities for receiving grace, that the individuals who composed the cities would have had, and the sort of penance they would have adopted. He knows also all the signs and prodigies in the sun and moon, which would foreshew the disaster of the universe, he knew that the hour was coming in which *all* that are in the graves should hear the voice of God, and how could he have else than known that hour, who knew and could declare the Father? 'For, the order of times exists without time in the eternal Wisdom of God<sup>s</sup>, and the soul united to that Wisdom must have known that order and have seen it, when he saw the signs which foreshewed its approach<sup>t</sup>. If

<sup>r</sup> Ep. 140. 78. Tubæ nomine vocem Archangeli et tubam Dei alio loco dicit. Quæ etiam vox ipsius Domini Jesu Christi in Evangelio dicitur, quam au-

dient ii qui in monumentis sunt et procedent. Jo. v. 28.

<sup>s</sup> St. A. de Trin. ii. §. 9.

<sup>t</sup> Cyril Thes. p. 224. b. 218.

b.

the Father had put the seasons in his own power, and Christ, who is the power of God, and is *made* to us the power and wisdom of God, so knew the Father as to be able to declare him, and had judgment committed to him because he was the Son of man, it is absurd to suppose that Son of man to know how to judge, and not to know when he should have to judge; to know he should bid the Angels burn the tares and gather the wheat, but not to know when he should give them the signal to do so.

10. I repeat, that it is possible perhaps to elude the force of any one of these passages if regarded alone, but the effect of the whole of them taken together forms a kind of circumstantial evidence in favour of the Church's doctrine, touching the plenitude of wisdom enjoyed by our Lord's soul from his conception, till the time when he knew all was finished, such as no person who considers what moral evidence is can resist; for objections raised from a few texts shall be considered presently<sup>u</sup>. It cannot, either, be too often remembered, that our Lord speaks these things with authority, and that so often as to make it absurd to suppose they came severally from revelations of it, and not from an habitual light infused by the Word into his soul. Our Lord was not even in his human Nature a servant, but Lord, otherwise his divine Nature would have been master of the servant his human, and the master and the servant have been

<sup>u</sup> It has always been the policy of heretics to build upon a few texts against the general drift of Scripture and tradition. The same perhaps may be said of more recent ignorantists, or of those heretics who ascribe ignorance to Christ on

the strength of such a text as this. Cf. Bull Def. F. N. ii. 5. §. 8. Forbes. Instr. Theol. iii. cap. 21. Milton, Par. Regained, i. 196—292. (ubi quot verba tot hæreses.) Morris, Nature a Parable, vii. 360. Cf. Massuet ad Iren. vol. ii. p. 121. §. 61.

two persons. He made the servile nature free by taking it, and the ignorant nature he made wise, so that it knew more perfectly than Abraham the friend of God, or the Prophets, what the Royal and Divine Nature was doing<sup>\*</sup>. He was, moreover, a lawgiver, and authoritatively dispensed with Moses' law, when it interfered with the purer code he introduced. This again implies a divine Wisdom, expressing indeed its determinations with a mouth of flesh, but communicating them through that sacred soul which so animated the flesh, that the absence of it was death to that flesh. In short, Christ, not as the Word, but as man, *had become* to us wisdom, and justice, and sanctification, and redemption: when the Word became flesh, then he became all these to us. The Word alone cannot 'become' at all, for becoming implies passing from one state to another: his becoming therefore was only possible by taking another nature into himself.

11. Nor is the silence of Scripture less convincing upon this point than its declarations. We no where find that our Lord is said to remember things, (even though this is said of God in the Old Testament,) or to call them to mind, or to argue from one thing to another, or to believe, or to have faith. This is perfectly intelligible, if his soul had the beatific vision and an infused wisdom then. For as God *is* all knowledge, to see him would supersede the use of memory by making things past to be present, and of reasoning, by presenting conclusions along with premises without any transition requiring time. As faith is the evidence of things not seen, it is never ascribed to him who always saw that Divine Nature with which he was created in union. Hope he could have, who could

\* Gen. xviii. 17. James ii. 23. Amos iii. 7. John xv. 15.

have fear : love he could have, who loved St. John : faith he who saw God, could not have. Being heir of all things, though Son of Man, he was in heaven.

12. Illustrations of the Incarnation, which stands quite alone in God's dealing, from any thing real are impossible : but when a true belief in it is all-important to man's salvation, it may perhaps be some excuse for seeming irreverence, if the following imaginary illustration of one point of it is put before the reader. Suppose then the whole and perfect nature of a brute beast could be hypostatically united to a reasonable soul ; it is plain, we should expect it to be able, by virtue of its newly-acquired faculties, to put before us a vast number of new cognitions as to the brute creation, their modes of sensation, recollection, and coming at a conclusion, their sense of injuries and benefits, the extent of power which their sight, smell, and other senses, gave them, in a word, their whole consciousness in their former condition. If upon enquiry we found that the union of the two natures was such as not to include this consciousness, it is clear we should at once think that it was not a perfect union : we should even doubt if the lower nature remained perfect, and if the rational soul had not been made to supply the place of the sensual soul. We should expect the brute to bring up to us from the lower stage of existence in which it had been, a knowledge of its former self, and to communicate it to us through its rational soul. Now this imaginary illustration is the inverse of what took place in the Incarnation : a rational soul was then united to a Person, whose former state of being remained what it was : that state of being included an infinite knowledge of all things, with a perfect power to communicate to the

acquired nature all the knowledge, of which it was capable; and the illustration proposed serves to shew that we should not think the union perfect so long as any communicable knowledge was withholden. If then such knowledge was withholden from Christ's soul, it animated a body, which with itself made up a separate person from the Divine Nature: and as there was no mode devised by God to give merit but Christ's Sacrifice, it could not have merited the union, unless human merit was possible. If then we believe Christ had a whole and perfect human nature, either we must concede that his soul was full of all communicable wisdom from the first instant of its conception, or we must solve the two united Natures into two Persons. Hence the denial of that fulness of wisdom will lead consistent persons round through Nestorianism into Pelagianism.

13. If again we conceived it possible for an Archangel to take a human nature into his own: it is obvious that if the union was perfect, whatever of that vision of God, which the Angels have, could be communicated, would be communicated at once, otherwise the union might become more and more perfect. If it had been possible for man to have sinned only against a finite being like an Archangel, then an Archangel might have sufficed to redeem him; but if we suppose it possible for one finite spirit to become perfectly united to another, such as man's soul is, it must have communicated all its knowledge to the finite soul, unless want of power prevented it. But the fact is, that Almighty God alone is able to penetrate the substance of other spirits, and it is this very power of his, as has been above shewn, which made the Incarnation possible. Without it, perfect union of the two natures could not have come about,



neither could any finite creature have saved us in the way we have been saved: no thorough, penetrating, entire, and absolutely perfect intercommunion is possible between two created natures. It was as Gregory the Divine somewhere has it; Perfect union with perfection which made the human nature of our Lord perfect<sup>1</sup>.

14. Enough then it is hoped has been said to put before the reader the grounds from tradition, (which Cyril every where says he is following,) from Scripture, and from reason, to prove the fulness of wisdom possessed by our Lord's soul. Arguments precisely parallel will prove its fulness of grace. Objections to this doctrine do not destroy this proof, but if they remain after all that can be done, they only shew that it is not demonstrative: if, on the contrary, they admit of being reduced or annihilated, the fact that reflection upon them does act in this direction, serves positively to confirm the doctrine. If any demonstrative proof, any absolute mathematical certainty, can be had upon such matters, I confess myself ignorant of it. The nearest approach to it is this: all that the Church teaches is true: the Church teaches that certain books are Scripture, and that they contain a certain doctrine about Christ's soul: therefore this doctrine is true. But the proposition, all that the Church teaches is true, does not admit of any demonstration, and a probable premiss will never give a demonstrative conclusion<sup>2</sup>. But it is of the very nature of probable evidence to be liable to objections, and therefore those who do

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Or. 20. p. 343. d. Aristot. Post. Anal. i. 21. ἐγὼ δὲ τοῖς διὰ τῶν εἰκότων τὰς ἀποδεί-

<sup>2</sup> Τὰ πεπερασμένα πεπερασμενα- ξεις ποιουμένοις λόγοις ξύνοιδα οὐσιν- κὶς ἀναγκὴ πεπερασθαι ἅπαντα, ἀλαζόσαι, as Plato says, Phæd. §. 94.

not admit this first proposition must expect to find them. The objections to this doctrine before us fall naturally into two classes : either it may be said it is against Scripture, or against tradition of the early Fathers. That it is against reason, no one, I presume, will contend ; rather it will be said, that the statements of Scripture and tradition overrule human reasonings about a matter of this nature. The two next chapters will perhaps serve to shew, how much any such objections from Scripture or tradition are worth : the latter will be found, it is hoped, either to prove a good deal too much, or a good deal too little. Hence the observations about to be made may help some people to rely on that living Church, out of which their forefathers drew the faith, and from which, it is an alarming *fact*, that they themselves are separated.

## CHAP. XIII.

UPON THE HERESY OF THE AGNOETÆ OR IGNORANTISTS.

1. ONCE upon a time there was a certain Pope, named Gregory the Great, who looked with an eye of pity upon the very country, for which these humble labours are undertaken. That country, which was then sunk in sin and heresy, by his vigorous efforts once more became a Catholic country. Great saints are ever wont not only to ascribe all the good they do to the grace of God with them, but to refer the obtaining of that grace to the power of any prayers rather than their own. Hence Gregory ascribed the conversion of England to the prayers<sup>a</sup> of his friend St. Eulogius, the holy and learned patriarch of Alexandria. In the days of these two saints there arose a set of heretics called Ignorantists, for so their Greek name might be translated. St. Gregory commissioned Eulogius to combat these heretics, though he also attacks them himself in some of his Epistles.

2. It is not altogether an easy task to ascertain either the history or the tenets of this obscure sect. Some writers<sup>b</sup> have been disposed to consider them rather of an Eutychian than of a Nestorian cast, and have imagined that their error lay in ascribing ignorance to the divine rather than to the human nature of our Saviour. If at first sight it appear difficult to conceive so absurd a blasphemy even in

<sup>a</sup> Epist. viii. 30.<sup>b</sup> E. g. Natalis Alexander, Sæc. vi. diss. vii.

a heretic, it must be remembered, that Arians early and late were of this opinion, and that heretics of the Eutychian school far more often became heretical upon the Trinity, than did Nestorians. In the third council of Toledo, A.D. 589, which was held to abjure Arianism, the seventh canon anathematizes ‘ whoever says that the Son of God is ignorant of what the Father knows : ’ and of earlier Arians there can be no question that they made the Word, or Son, or animating Spirit of their Christ, God and yet not as the Father, but different from him, as in other things, so in ignorance of the day and hour of the judgment<sup>c</sup>. But of this species of Ignorantists it is not necessary to say more here, than to point out how they set an example, which a mind once loosed from the sweet fetters of truth, as Eutychians were, might have eventually followed.

3. The next error approximating to this may have been that of Origen, who seems to have held as a consecratory of his theory of pre-existence, that Christ’s soul even in a future state would not have a greater knowledge than that of other beings. This appears from the thirteenth canon of the fifth general council<sup>d</sup>. “ If any one says that Christ will have no difference whatever from any single one of the rational creatures, either in essence, or in *knowledge*, or in his power and operation upon all things; but that all will be on the right hand of God as their Christ is, as also in their fabled pre-existence they used to be themselves; let him be anathema.” Now I notice this here, not because I think that Pelagianism or its offshoot Nestorianism, were derived by Theodore from Origen, whom Theodore and his followers abominated :

<sup>c</sup> ap. Hard. iii. p. 475.      <sup>d</sup> Hard. iii. p. 286. e.  
Catalani ad Nicæn. i. p. 55.

but to give an instance of agreement between heretics apparently opposed to each other. Origen here (it seems) puts Christ on a par with men and other creatures: the Agnoetæ argued that Christ was ignorant, because like us. They, therefore, were to the intellect of Christ what Pelagians were to his will. It is natural that people should reason in the same way about the intellect and the will of Christ: Pelagians and the Agnoetæ (if a sub-section of Pelagians) would naturally put both the one and the other upon a level: Catholics, who hold the human will of Christ to have a created perfection from the first, would naturally hold the same of his intellect: Monothelites, who held that he had no human will, would naturally give to his soul an uncreate wisdom also.

4. Here then it would seem at first sight are two opposite phases of error with the Catholic truth occupying the mean. Now as it is desirable for the purposes of this book to class the Agnoetæ or Ignorantists under the Nestorian, and through it under the Pelagian phase of error: it must be desirable to shew how they come to be classed by some people under the very opposite or Manichean phase. To make this latter point clear, it will be right to quote some fragments of Nestorius, which shew that even he might exorbitate in a Manichean direction. His notion of a coadorable human nature in Christ was built upon the notion, that human nature was united to the divine by a unity of will and purpose with the divine, which unity of will and purpose, began with the creation of Christ's human nature, and was increased, but never discontinued or interrupted. The natural tendency of such a theory is to make the human will coordinate with the divine

and omnipotent. “Nestorius, (says St. Maximus,) the ill-starred man, the follower and keeper up of Theodorus’s madness, in what he calls his ‘Splendid Initiation,’ in the second chapter of the said treatise, writes craftily as follows: ‘We preserve without confusion the natures which are united, not in essence, but by sentiment, through which we see that they have one operation and lordship, which are displayed in the equality of their dignity. For God the Word, when he had taken the man he had foreordained, was preferred by him on the score of the Word’s power, through the disposition foreshewn in him.’” Nestorius here means to say, that the man Christ *chose* the Word, because of his being so powerful, and that this choice resulted from a disposition of the human nature which had been foreseen. St. Maximus proceeds. “The same madman, in the fourth chapter of the same work, says again; ‘God the Word was not one Person, and the man in whom he was born another: for the Person of both was one in dignity and honour, being worshipped by the whole creation, and not a person in any place or time divided through difference of purpose or will.” Heretics are not consistent; for if they were, Nestorius ought either never to have talked of Christ’s advance in grace and knowledge, or else never to have written so. For sameness of purpose implies sameness of knowledge: and *ταυτοβουλία*, or sameness of purpose, is a recognised symbol of Nestorianism. An acuter and more consistent heretic would perhaps have seen, that will and intellect in such a case must be coordinates, that if the one was carnal, the

• Max. Conf. ii. p. 96. Conc. p. 895. quotes it somewhat differently. Lateran. quoted above, p. 132.

other would be deficient in light; if the one was divine, the other would be omniscient.

5. But let us see if this is more than a theory: Theodore, that ample well of Pelagianism in all its branches, held, as Leontius informs us, Christ to be ignorant, except so far as the Word illuminated him, insomuch that he did not know who Satan was when he tempted him: but Theodore held also, that Christ was subject to bad thoughts, and grew in grace up to the date of his baptism, and beyond<sup>f</sup>. Hence it is plain, that Theodore consistently made the two coordinate: if he handed over to the Pelagians a Christ with a will distorted like ours, he also set the Agnoetæ an example of regarding his soul as ignorant. Now suppose a heretic to have got this principle pretty clearly before him, and to see that if the divine and human nature had but one will, they ought to have but one knowledge: with this principle pretty firmly rooted in him, and not having grace to return to the truth from which he has drifted away, what would be not unnaturally the consequence? Even if he commenced his heretical career as a Monothelite, and made one will and one knowledge in Christ; if induced by arguments to degrade his human will as the Pelagians did, with this principle in his head, he would degrade his knowledge also, or the converse. If ambitious of broaching something new, he would shew his novel

<sup>f</sup> See above, cap. iii. §. 7. and Assem. B. O. iv. p. 203. Leont. ap. Canis. i. p. 579. xxxii. Vigil. Const. p. 39. c. alludes to Theodorus holding this, when he writes as follows: Si quis unum Jesum Christum verum Dei et eundem ipsum

verum hominis filium futurorum ignorantiam aut diei ultimi judicii habuisse dicit, et tanta scire posse quanta ei deitas, quasi alteri cuidam inhabitans, revelabat; anathema sit.

Pelagianism, so to call it, by denying to Christ that knowledge which the hypostatic union secured him.

6. It does not seem easy, without some such theory as this, to reconcile the seeming incongruities in the accounts of Themistius, the founder of the heresy, which is the subject of this chapter. Petavius observes, upon the inconsistency of an Eutychian as Themistius was, holding such a tenet as this, that it is no more inexplicable than that some of the same sect should make Christ's body corruptible, though transmuted into the divine nature: and he notices how a heretic, once loosened from the truth as it is in Jesus, may drift off any where<sup>g</sup>. But Sophronius of Jerusalem, a cotemporary authority as well as a great one, most expressly asserts, "that Themistius did not make Christ ignorant as he was eternal God, but *as he had become verily man*, of the day of the consummation and judgment<sup>h</sup>; and this, though he accused himself of the monstrosity of the Acephali, (a sect of Eutychians,) and fancied that Christ had but one compound nature." Here we see the heresy is a Nestorian one, and savours of Theodore: the person is a Eutychian bred and born, so to style him. The latter is asserted not only by Sophronius and Liberatus, but also by Damascene and Maximus. Damascene says: "The Agnoetæ are the same as the Themistians, who impiously assert that Christ was ignorant of the day of judgment, and ascribe cowardice to him. These are a section of the Theodosians, for Themistius, who was their heresiarch, defended one compound nature in Christ<sup>i</sup>." Nevertheless, in spite of this statement about the person, Damascene elsewhere says of a heresy like what

<sup>g</sup> de Inc. xi. 1. §. 4.

<sup>i</sup> Hæres. 85.

<sup>h</sup> Ap. Hard. iii. p. 1289. d.



Sophronius ascribes to Themistius, as follows : Those who say that Christ advanced in wisdom and grace, as if receiving an increase of these, deny that the union took place at the beginning of his flesh's subsistence, and do not maintain a hypostatic union, but, following the silly-minded Nestorius, conjure up a union of relation only, and a mere inhabiting<sup>k</sup>." The same appears both as to the heretic's personal history, and as to his doctrine, from Leontius. "The Agnoetæ, he says, allow all that the Theodosians do, but differ in this, that the Theodosians do not say that Christ's *human* nature is ignorant, but the former do : 'because, say they, he was like us in all things :' but if we are ignorant, it is plain that he was ignorant : and he says in the Gospel himself, that no one knows the day nor the hour, not even the Son, but the Father only<sup>l</sup>." Maximus, again, says of the Monothelites, that if "they make the state of Christ's will the result of a dexterity acquired by practice, then Christ advanced and was ignorant, before learning, of what he afterwards learnt : and then why is it that they abhor Nestorius<sup>m</sup>?" Here he ranks the attribution of ignorance to Christ, with Nestorianism. And Gregory the Great, in his Epistles, speaking of these same heretics, says, that "it is a mighty plain point, that whoso is not a Nestorian, can by no means be an Ignorantist." That the Agnoetæ then held a heresy of the Nestorian class appears to be clear. But Themistius at one time asserted in common with many Eutychians, that there is one knowledge in Christ as there is one will and operation<sup>n</sup>. If we suppose that even after he split with his party, he

<sup>k</sup> De F. O. iii. 22.

<sup>l</sup> De Sect. ix. p. 531.

<sup>m</sup> Vol. ii. p. 174.

<sup>n</sup> Hard. iii. p. 893. e. p. 895.

a. p. 896. a.

retained the principle of making the will and the knowledge coordinate, then we shall see how he came to fall into a heresy of the opposite class to what he had been holding. His thesis against the *Corrupticolæ* was, that if Christ's body was corruptible, then we ought to say that Christ was ignorant of some things. Here he argues, that the state of the soul in Christ and the state of the body are tests or measures of each other. He conceived an immutable soul ought to have an immutable body to correspond to it: and if this was so, then Christ ought not to be ignorant; but as there seemed to him to be clear proofs of his ignorance in Scripture, he veered round to the opposite party, and gave Christ, we may presume, a Pelagian flesh and a Theodorean perversion of will and ignorance of intellect. But however this may be, the main thing to remember is, that Gregory the Great views him as a Nestorian, and Sophronius expressly asserts that he made Christ's human nature ignorant. It may be added, that Felix of Urgela, the reviver of Nestorianism in the eighth century, seems to have used the same passage of St. Mark, to shew ignorance of the adopted Son\*. Taking it for granted then that the heresy was in substance a Nestorian or Pelagian heresy, let us proceed to examine it a little more narrowly.

7. The heresy appears then to have broken out upon the occasion of a disputation started by Theodosius upon the meaning of the text, "Of that day and hour knoweth no man, neither the Angels in heaven, nor the Son, but the Father." It is true, there are many things in Scripture of which it is hard for man to say why they were put there. If ignorance was not to be ascribed to the Son, it may

\* Paulin. c. Felic. iii. 12. Agobard. c. Felic. p. 7. ed. Baluz.

be said, Why was this phrase added by St. Mark? why did some people try to get rid of the words as a corruption, except they found them troublesome to account for upon any other theory<sup>p</sup>. To this question it may be replied by another; What right have you, who discard the Church, to limit the word 'Son' to the Son of man, seeing St. Mark has put 'the Son' simply and the Father next to it, as though both went together in the same sense. If you say, because it is impossible to apply the words to a nature incapable of ignorance; I reply, impossible to whom? to those who go by Scripture? Nay, for the Arians thought they went by Scripture, and this was a favourite text of theirs to prove the inferiority of Christ's nature. There is a plain *climax* here from men to Angels, and from Angels to the Son, and from him to the Father. Thus much you must allow then; and if you say that Christ's human nature allowed him to be inferior to the Father as touching his knowledge, you must allow him to have even in his human nature a mind far above all created natures; and then you will concede more than you wish: or else you must say, we will go to tradition, and rule ourselves by the early Church in the matter, careless of the doctrine of the Schools or later Fathers.

8. Let us see then if these early Fathers will help you clean out of the difficulty: in the first place, you have made up your mind, that it must be in the human nature, that the Son is ignorant of what the Father knows. But in answering the Arians, the Fathers are far from unanimous upon the way to meet them. Enough can, I think, be briefly said, to shew you, that a little more theological know-

<sup>p</sup> V. Madrisi ad Paulin. l. c.

ledge would at least perplex you so far as to make you glad to have recourse to the living Church for guidance. Now some Fathers, and those far from being mean authorities<sup>1</sup>, do not limit the Son here to the Son incarnate, but they suppose Christ to mean that the Son has no *unoriginate* knowledge of that day and hour. Some attempt shall be made to set their meaning in so saying in a clearer light, as it is perfectly obvious, that if the Divine Word himself can in any sense be said not to know of that hour, much more may the same be said of the soul united to him. If the Word, who really has the knowledge, can deny he has this knowledge, because he has it not except from the Father, much more may Christ's soul, though it really has it from the Word, be said not to have it.

9. To explain this, it is necessary to repeat, what has been said before, that creatures have their justice, wisdom, or goodness from without: any attributes they can have, can be taken from them without destroying their nature or substance. Michael and Satan are of the same substance, Judas and St. John are of the same substance, and these once had many attributes in common. But God has no one else to draw his attributes from: he is wisdom, he is goodness, he is justice, he is knowledge, he is life. Hence when he gives these, he gives his substance. As the Father hath life in himself, so hath he given the Son to have life in himself. The Father makes over to

<sup>1</sup> Vide Petavius de Trinit. ii. 3. §. 6—14. N. on Athan. p. 459. and compare St. Anselm. quoted p. 241. Even Leontius. ap. Canis. i. p. 619. Majus, secundum cogitationem in Patre et Filio quod propter naturam causæ dicitur, non inducit majus

naturâ. St. Thom. i. qu. 33. art. 1. ad 2. says this was a Greek mode of explaining cognate texts, 'quod non est in usu doctorum nostrorum.' Fuit tamen: for he quotes Hil. ix. 54. to the purpose. See Le Quien ad J. D. vol. i. p. 186. n. 2.

the Son by an eternal generation his entire substance, and in it life and all his other attributes. Yet when he has made it over, he still retains it: he *has* in himself the identical self-same life, which he makes over to the Son. Hence it is obviously orthodox to say, 'As the Father hath knowledge in himself, so hath he given to the Son to have knowledge in himself:' and in a similar way we might as truly say, 'the Son can know nothing of himself,' as, 'the Son can do nothing of himself.' It was given him from all eternity to know, as well as to do, or to be; that is, as he is not unoriginate, but derived his eternal subsistency from the Father, so his knowledge is not unoriginate, but derived from the Father. Now as it is the Son's manner while in the flesh to put his own dignity as much as possible out of sight, it is not unreasonable for him to deny that he has that which he has by virtue of his Godhead indeed, yet not underivedly<sup>1</sup>. If he had taken an Angel's nature, and concealed himself from us men, but disclosed what he had done for us by prophets, there would even then have been something very instructive to his creatures in this. If he did not hesitate to refer to the Father the attributes which he had of the Father, as being God of God, attributes as properly and entirely his as the whole divine Substance is; even this would be a lesson to his creatures<sup>1</sup>, to acknowledge whence their own good-

<sup>1</sup> Si scientiam illius diei Filius non dubitavit referre ad Patrem, sed dixit quod verum est, neque nos erubescamus quæ sunt in quæstionibus majora secundum nos reservare Deo. And again: Si quis exquirat causam cur Pater in *omnibus* communicans Filio,

*solus* scire horam et diem a Domino manifestatus est..... non sine periculo alteram quam hanc inveniat in præsentî; quoniam cum solus verax magister Dominus est, ut *discamus* per ipsum super omnia esse Patrem. Iren. lib. ii. cap. 28. §. 6. §. 8. and see Massuet. vol. ii.

ness and knowledge came. With this lesson before them, they could not worship the one God, without worshipping the Three Persons. Upon this principle it is, that our Lord so often pretermits the fact, that the Holy Spirit proceeds from himself as well as from the Father, and though there are abundant texts to prove it, yet the proof is not upon the face of them, and he promised to send from the Father that Spirit, whom he does not send unoriginately, while he foresaw that many heretics would abuse his divine modesty, to prove that he did not, with the Father, give the Spirit to have life in himself. There is then a sense in which the Son as God might be said not to have the knowledge of that hour. And this principle, which leaves room for the assertion to be made of the Divine Nature, shews what some Fathers may have meant, when they applied it to the human; shews how the discussion of the doctrine of the Trinity paved the way for the doctrine of the Incarnation. Moreover, if the Son could say this of his own Person without the flesh, because the Divine Nature subsisting in that Person was not unoriginate, much more could he say it of that Human Nature, which never had any subsistence, till he created it in union with himself.

p. 121. Aug. Epist. 110. §. 69. hæc quædam contestatio est rationalis creaturæ, quod non sibi ipsa sit bonum, quo beata fiat, sed illud incommutabile cujus participatione etiam sapiens efficitur.

• Berti. ii. p. 96. viii.

• If any one likes to say, that this mode of explaining the text leads one to suppose that the Angels had knowledge of that day, though not un-

originate, he will not perhaps miss the truth: for the Angels who are represented as waiting for the Son's word in Matt. xiii. 29. &c. in Apoc. xiv. 15. &c. they are represented, after Christ's resurrection and ascension, as telling the Son of Man that the time is come. Lugo xix. §. 1. n. 9. Ex Marci loco non probatur Angelos prorsus nescire diem illum: oportet tamen aliunde efferre funda-

If then you go by Scripture, you have no right to limit the Son to the Son incarnate: if you go by the holy Fathers, your favourite *quod semper*, &c. will not give you authority to limit it so: if you call in reason to your aid, why may not I reason from other passages, that the Son incarnate was full of grace and truth, even in his human nature? or why may I not reason from this self-same text, that the CLIMAX it contains is nonsensical, unless the Son knows more in his human nature, as you will have it, than the Angels? And if you are driven to concede this, you will concede more than you like, and as much nearly as is wanted for the purposes of this book, if we can prove that he did not gain this wisdom greater than the Angels by advance, but had it at first. For that the Angels see the face of the Father and enjoy the beatific vision, few Protestants will venture to deny; and if when thirty-three he had greater knowledge than these, he must have had a vastly greater knowledge than other men to begin upon. In a similar way the Fathers not unfrequently assert that the Angels are mortal<sup>a</sup>, and the Bible says that God only hath immortality, i. e. has it unoriginately. And then you must admit, (as has been shewn,) that he had that wisdom at the first, if you will keep out of that Nestorianism which leads to the doctrine of human merit.

mentum ad probandum quod sciant. This the text of Apoc. possibly may do, at least after he in whose heart the day of vengeance was, had ascended into heaven. 'Ad sanctos fit missio visibilis secundum quod aliqua mysteria revelantur eis de novo usque ad diem judicii, &c.'

says St. Thos. part i. q. xliii. art. 6. ad 3.

<sup>a</sup> 1 Tim. vi. 16. See Petav. de Ang. 1. 5. Aug. Epist. 143. §. 7. 'Non dubito immortalē esse animam, non ita ut Deus, qui solus habet immortalitatem, sed modo quodam sui generis.'

10. If it be said, that to suppose your mode of interpreting holy writ admissible, would be to suppose God might deceive us; he would be using words which would mean the opposite of what they seem to mean: I reply, God reveals himself in nature as well as in Scripture, and if we use our senses honestly, we shall learn by them what he means us to learn in this world, though ventriloquism, second-sight, and other things may occur, where he who creates these, deludes our senses by them. In the same way, if we made, not tradition which is a dead thing, but the Church which is a living body, 'the pillar and ground of the Truth,' if, that is, we went by common sense about this and other plain texts, we should find out God's meaning about the difficult ones. Either allow that you must apply a different rule in nature and in Scripture for difficulties to what you apply for plain cases, or else do not endeavour dishonestly to make it appear that this mode of interpreting one text will render all texts obscure and uncertain. But that this is a difficult text, the vast variety of comments and explanations upon it prove beyond a question.

11. Now suppose a state of things in which it was an acknowledged principle, not only that Christ did every thing as an example to us, but also that it was a clear case that he on several occasions, and upon this among them, disguised his real meaning, though he knew people in general would draw a conclusion from his words just the opposite of that meaning. If this was the state of things in which the Fathers lived, it is plain that they might treat heretics, as our Lord did the impertinent thoughts\* of his disciples,

\* St. Ephrem, p. 356 takes our Lord foresaw the thoughts this passage as a proof, that of Greeks and others to come



when he answered them by this wise but evasive *climax*. Hence it is clear, that if a number of passages can be quoted from the Fathers, in which the ignorance is ascribed to Christ's human nature without more ado, that such passages may be nothing more than a convenient answer to present difficulties, and not in the least a statement of their real doctrine upon the subject. Until the reverse of this can be distinctly proved, it will not avail to quote these passages in defence of the Ignorantists. There is no Catholic divine now-a-days, probably<sup>r</sup>, who would not admit that such evasive answers were not only no lies, but absolutely allowable when impertinent questions were put. There are a very few, if any, Protestants, who would not practically use this principle in real life, however indignantly they may at first sight repudiate it. It is lawful in some cases for inferiors to answer superiors in this way; as, for instance, if you asked a servant if he had been ever guilty of theft, for no one is obliged to criminate himself; but there are far more cases, where it is lawful for superiors to evade questions which inferiors have no right to ask. Hence it was lawful for our Lord and Master, the absolute ruler of his creatures, to answer impertinent thoughts in this manner. And, by parallel reasoning, it was lawful for the Fathers to answer heretics, in a way, which while it disguised their own sentiments probably, nevertheless did the heretics good. For it is always lawful to lead a man away from a greater sin by leading him to a less :

into his net hereafter, and therefore so shaped his teaching as to bridle their fondness for subtle speculations.

<sup>r</sup> Vide D. Alphons. Theol. Mor. iii. n. 152. who speaks of

this as the opinion 'commonly held' by almost all the doctors. The theses condemned by Innoc. XII. will be found in Viva. in Thes. Cond. p. 249. Prop. 26 and 27.

thus nobody in his sane senses would deny that it was a virtuous deed to induce a man to stupify himself by drink, who would only use his wits to avail himself of a solitary opportunity for murder of a man in mortal sin, or adultery mutually agreed upon. If any body would deny it, it must be simply because he had never given the question a thought, or else because he was so dull of conscience as to prefer the ruin of two souls, to the temporary suspension of the powers of one. Now if the fathers could lead the heretics to blaspheme the human nature of Christ, to do so was to lead them to a less sin than blaspheming his Divine Nature, which blasphemy might never be forgiven, neither in this world nor in purgatory.

12. Bearing these principles in mind, it will be easy to justify those Fathers who ascribe the ignorance of the last hour, (which was afterward the strong-hold of the Agnoetæ,) either loosely to human nature which Christ had taken, or more definitely to the particular human nature as it subsisted in Christ. They looked to our Lord's example upon several occasions as a very sufficient warranty for such evasion in the first case, and in the other to the ordinary principles of charity as ample reason for diverting heretics in any way from blaspheming the Divine Nature. If then nothing could be found by which you could guess at what may be called their own private opinion in the matter, if no positive sense could be affixed to words they chiefly used as a negation

\* Cassian. p. 1269. 'Licet utraque blasphemia malum sit contumeliosius tamen est divina Domino, quam humana rapuisse.' Aug. Serm. 71. 24. mentions (though with disap-

proval) *some* who so took it.

\* Multum interest utrum de Creatore, an de creaturâ aliter aliquid sentiatur quam veritas habet. Aug. Epist. 147. 49.

or mode of diverting other heresies, still nothing could be elicited from them which will serve to shew that they held the same tenets as the Ignorantists. But in point of fact, whether or no they had before their minds a distinct explicit systematic view of it, still there is a sense in which advance in knowledge may be ascribed to Christ, which in a future chapter we shall treat of, and which will enable us to affix some positive sense to their words: and we find also intimations of their private opinion even where the most difficult passages occur. Thus to quote a portion of such a passage from St. Ambrose, who in his treatise on the Faith<sup>b</sup> holds that Christ was not really ignorant, in his treatise on the Incarnation appears to speak a very different language: when desirous to prove against Apollinaris that our Lord had a real human soul, he avails himself of his apparent ignorance to prove the presence of a nature capable of learning. This is one of the texts which constitutes a noted difficulty in the way of our doctrine; and it concludes as follows: "Things future and hidden do not escape the Wisdom of God, but infancy being void of knowledge, is indeed through a want of discretion common to man, ignorant of that which hitherto it has not learnt. But you will say, 'if we give Christ two primary understandings, or a double wisdom, we shall divide Christ, I fear.' Well then, when we adore his divinity and his flesh, do we divide Christ?" It is easy to guess from this passage that St. Ambrose's private opinion was, that a heresy like what Nestorianism afterwards became, would result from supposing the Divine Nature not to give all such communicable properties to the human as interfered not with the economy: as

<sup>b</sup> Lib. v. §. 222.

<sup>c</sup> §. 74—5.

his flesh is adored not with a divided adoration, because of its union with the divine Substance, so his soul must be made wise by virtue of the same Wisdom which was inherent in his Divine Nature. The only difference is, that though there is but one adoration, there are two wisdoms, an uncreate and a created, the soul by itself being capable naturally of wisdom, whereas the body by itself is not naturally capable of adoration. Or it may be said, there are two adorable objects, the one from being uncreate, and the other derivatively so; and two wise objects, the one uncreate, the other deriving its wisdom: but both body and soul by virtue of the hypostatic union are what they are. This passage of St. Ambrose then may serve to shew, that it is possible to guess at the private opinion even of Fathers who seem most adverse to the Church's ordinary teaching upon the subject. It would be endless and wearisome to consider in detail similar passages which may be urged for a similar purpose; and therefore while it is but frank to allow that Leontius and some of our divines have given up the early Fathers to the Agnoetæ<sup>d</sup>, it does not seem to me

<sup>d</sup> Ambrose is one of those whom Garnier (*ad Mercat. i. p. 119.* compare on *Liberatus, p. 140.*) gives up to the Agnoetæ. Of the others whom he mentions, Athanasius, Cyril, Theodoret, and Fulgentius, are distinguished like St. Ambrose for clear testimonies to the adorableness of Christ's flesh. (See *Petav. de Inc. xv. 3.* *Thomassin. xi. 2 and 3.*) Nazianzen and Hilary were combating either Arians or Apollinarians; and Basil's private opinion, as I have called it, may possibly be learnt from

Maximus c. *Pyrrh. l. c.* It is not of course meant here to deny that you look in vain in writers of the four first centuries for clear statements on the matter; all I wish to shew is, that they might have held the truth to this extent themselves. Otherwise Leporius (i. e. Augustine) is the first writer (*Anno 424.*) whom I know, that expressly denies that ignorance could be ascribed even to the human nature. See *Garn. l. c. p. 224. and 230.* and compare my notes to *St. Ephrem, p. 348—355.* and *Aug. Epist. 219.*

to be else than a most unnecessary concession. Of this there can be no doubt, that those who think that early Fathers will serve instead of a living Church, will find it far more difficult than they expect to make writers, especially eastern writers, before St. Austin, orthodox upon the subject of predestination and grace\*. The first clear testimonies, both on these and on the other subject, come from him.

13. There is one passage in antiquity which shall be adduced here, because it contains a *climax* precisely similar to the favourite text of the Agnoetæ, and appears to ascribe to our Lord's soul, at least by implication, a superiority to all other creatures, such as St. Austin attributed to it. It is taken from Gelasius Cyzicenus, a writer who, at the close of the fifth century, compiled from ancient sources an account of the council of Nicæa, the genuine acts of which are now lost. The reader shall form what opinion he pleases of its genuineness; all I will beg him to consider is, if the climax it gives is not most naturally referred throughout to created natures: "The answer of the holy Fathers through Macarius, Bishop of Jerusalem, to a philosopher, who asks in the council, How God took flesh of a woman?" "We have already told you, right worthy friend, not by any means touching divine mysteries to say 'How:' for they cannot be uttered or come at by reasoning. But as we have been taught by holy writ, we will say as much as language shall be able to put you in possession of. The perfect comprehending then of that mystery, to wit, of the economy of our Lord in the flesh, *how* it was brought about, none either of men or of angels knoweth, nor will

\* Vide Le Quien ad Damasc. quoted above, cap. vii. fin.

Gabriel himself, who ministered to the mystery, nor the all-chaste and pure and holy Virgin Mary, be able to put you in possession of the entire comprehension of the Incarnation itself of God the Word. For the only-begotten Son alone knows the accurate account of his own becoming man for our sakes<sup>c</sup>." This passage it should seem conceives the Word incarnate, as knowing his own incarnation, and understanding it: it plainly puts the blessed Virgin in between Christ and the Archangels, as better acquainted with the mystery than they were, which proves very distinctly the way in which a writer of the fifth century supposed, if you please, that the Nicene Fathers would have thought of the dignity of the blessed Virgin Mary. The language of St. Austin to the Arian Maximin may be aptly added here. "You do not rightly estimate what position the human nature holds in the creation, created as it was in the image of God. The Angels may be called greater than man, because they are greater than the body of man: they are greater also than the soul, but to the soul when in that state in which owing to the merit of original sin the corruptible body weighs it down. But as for human nature, viewed as it was in Christ, when he took the nature of a human mind, which mind could not be depraved by any sin, God alone is greater than it<sup>h</sup>." If St. Austin held our Lady free from original sin, he might have placed her before Gabriel, as the Nicene Fathers did: this passage however is inserted here, to shew in what rank he would place the soul of

<sup>c</sup> Harduin. i. p. 418. Cave thinks this an invention of the fifth century, and not a real account of the council's proceedings. Gelasius mentions

his authorities, but internal evidence leads one to suspect he embellished a good deal.

<sup>h</sup> c. Maxim. ii. cap. 25. See part iii. chap. 4.

Her Son, whom he contends, in the following words, 'was made less than the Angels by reason of the passion of death<sup>k</sup>,' and not from any inferiority in 'that rational and intellectual mind in which he exceeded all creatures.'

14. But to return to the Agnoetæ, or Ignorantists, as I have ventured to call them. Having endeavoured now to shew in what sense the passage in St. Mark may have been understood either of the divine or human nature by the Fathers, it will be easier for the reader to understand the following passages of St. Eulogius, taken from a work of which Photius has preserved us fragments in his Myriobiblon. "He wrote another work against the Agnoetæ: he tells us, that it was certain monks<sup>l</sup> of the desert near Jerusalem that set the doctrine going, who were induced to ascribe ignorance to our Lord Jesus Christ from what he himself said, 'Where have ye laid Lazarus?' and, 'No one knows the day or the hour, not even the Son;'<sup>m</sup> and from other texts<sup>n</sup> of the same kind. But this holy man Eulogius contends, that our Lord Jesus Christ was not ignorant, in his human nature much less in his divine, either of the burial-place of Lazarus, or of the last day: for even the human nature, when it had come together into one hypostasis with unapproachable and essential Wisdom, would not be ignorant of any

<sup>k</sup> Heb. ii. 9.

<sup>l</sup> Cod. 230. p. 284. ed. Bekker. This is probably a misunderstanding: it was Themistius who set it going so far as holding the tenet went, and the monks who brought the matter before the Pope. See Le Quien. l. c. Greg. Epist. x. 35.

<sup>m</sup> One of these was, Mark xi.

13. where Christ examines the fig-tree as if ignorant. On this St. A. Serm. lxxvii. 7. remarks, Hoc factum nisi figuratum accipiat stultum invenitur; and on it and on Quis me tetigit, he adds, Fit imperito similis Creator et interrogat non solum, qui sciebat sed etiam qui cætera præsciebat. See above, p. 235. n. b.

thing, whether of things present or of things to come. Nor can that which he himself has said, 'All that the Father hath is mine,' be shewn to be false, unless these audacious men will draw the Father also into ignorance. But as for the Saviour's saying, 'Where have ye laid Lazarus?' he said that to bring such of the Jews as were present to attention and recollection: and it was not only so in this, but in certain other things too; as in that, 'Loose him, and let him go;' that from seeing and hearing the things one by one, they might have confidence in what they saw, and be quit of doubt, that so it might be handed down to perpetual memory<sup>a</sup>. Eulogius says also, that of the things said of Christ, some are said relatively to us, and some really predicated of him: instances of the former are, that he became sin and a curse for us<sup>o</sup>; not that he really became so, but seeing the head appropriates to itself what belongs to the body, he takes upon him what belongs to his body: of the latter again these are instances, that he became man, and was hungry and thirsty, and the like. If then any one likes to say, that he was ignorant by reference to us, inasmuch as his body or man's nature, of which he is the head, is not exempt from ignorance, such a one would not be going beyond what was allowable, nor would he be making the Wisdom of the Father ignorant<sup>p</sup>. But as for his saying, 'Where have ye laid him?' if that persuaded these unlearned men to accuse Christ of

<sup>a</sup> Speaking of these same questions, St. Cyril says, '*Oftē* does he as man pretend, *σχηματίζεσθαι*, to be ignorant of those things which as God he knew,' in Joan. p. 529. where is more on the same subject. See Thes. p. 222. b. Comp. Mai. C. N. vii.

p. 25. N. ad Athan. p. 464. n. f.

<sup>o</sup> Nazianz. Or. 36. p. 580.

<sup>p</sup> Cyril, Thes. p. 222. d. quotes Eunomius as saying, 'How can he be of the same nature with him who knows all things, if he is not like him in this?'



ignorance, why do they not impute the same ignorance to the Father, when he questions Adam, and says, 'Where art thou?' and the fratricide, 'Where is thy brother Abel?' and when he says, 'The cry of Sodom and Gomorrha is filled, and their sins are very great; I will go down therefore, and see if they are perfected according to the cry thereof:' and Jesus also asks the devil, 'What is thy name?' and it answers, 'Legion is my name, for we are many:' and to the blind he says, 'What will ye that I should do for you?' Now how comes it that they fail to see that ignorance is not what makes him ask these questions, but that he puts this question to the devil, in part to shew his disciples what a multitude of devils dwelt in the man, that they might learn in fact that he had vanquished already the majority of the devils, and so be inspired with faith and confidence to tread upon snakes and scorpions, and every power of the wicked one? But the blind men he questions merely as managing<sup>p</sup>, that the request should come from themselves; since the more we have to ask in order to get a benefit, the more vivid is the perception we have of that benefit."

15. St. Eulogius thus far strikingly lays before us the way in which our Saviour puts on an appearance of ignorance, which he contends he could not really have, as being the Wisdom of the Father. He might have added the case in which our Lord asked Philip, How many loaves have you? when he already knew what he would do<sup>q</sup>. The Wisdom of the Father in

<sup>p</sup> οἰκονομῶν. Cyril. l. c. e. 'Christ uses *economia*, when he says he does not know the hour, though he really does know it.'

<sup>q</sup> Cyril. in Thes. p. 228. b. 'If when he knew what he was

going to do, he asks as if he was ignorant, what should hinder us, now there is a useful object in view, from allowing him to say, 'he does not know the day and the hour?' And

the above passage is spoken of just in the same indefinite way as St. Cyril uses it, but plainly meaning the whole 'Christ, who from God is *made* to us wisdom,' as St. Paul speaks. This is yet more fully implied by the quotation, 'All that the Father hath is mine.' He proceeds as follows.

16. "But as for what is said of the last day, that no one knows of it, neither the Angels, nor the Son, but only the Father, some say this was said economically, that the disciples might be every day under the impression that the last day was approaching, and so might keep watching. There is however nothing to hinder our taking this as said with reference to us, as in the text, 'Thou knowest my folly;' and, 'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?'" Some however say, that he says he does not know the last day, as exhibiting and displaying a characteristic of human nature, not as if himself were ignorant, (God forbid!) for you cannot speak of ignorance in him, either in the Godhead or the Manhood, without the risk of dangerous audacity: but because, (as the blessed Cyril<sup>s</sup> saith,) by making subtle distinctions in thought or imagination of the mind in a speculative manner, we see the characteristics of either nature severally, and by themselves; or, (as Gregory the divine says<sup>t</sup>,) when the natures are made in our conception of them to stand apart, then the attributes are divided also. But ignorance is a special characteristic of mere human nature, and in this way it might be said that ignorance, when

he speaks no falsehood in saying so. For though he knew as God the Word, he is capable *as man* of being ignorant. ΔΥΝΑΤΑΙ ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἀγνοεῖν.

<sup>r</sup> Ps. lxxviii. 6. Ps. xxi. 1.

<sup>s</sup> Ad Success. ii. p. 145. c.

In i. p. 137. e. 142. b. he has observations to the same effect. The words are quoted in J. Dam. F. O. iii. 21. Ephr. ap. Phot. cod. 229. init.

<sup>t</sup> Naz. Or. 36. p. 582.

conceived to be said about the human nature of Christ, is conceived as said of humanity in the abstract. This the Divine also expressed, when he said, 'He knows as God, but as man is ignorant, if any one were to separate what appears, from what is [really] intended'. After saying this, Eulogius adds, that if "some of the Fathers have admitted of ignorance in the humanity of our Saviour, that was only when controverting the madness of the Arians, who transferred every thing that was human to the Divinity of the Only-begotten, that they might make the uncreate Word of God a creature, and therefore the Fathers judged it better economy to take this of the humanity, than to allow those men to draw this into a prejudice against the Godhead. If, however, one were to admit that they also said this with an eye to the principle of reference, it would be taking a more orthodox view of the matter."

17. Eulogius here makes use of three distinct principles to meet the Ignorantist heresy, the principle of economy, the principle of reference, and the principle of (what may be called) speculative distinction. The principle of economy is used when Christ or the Fathers say things which will probably but not necessarily convey a certain impression that is not true in itself, but serves a good present purpose. Thus when Christ said, 'How many loaves have you?'

\* Greg. Naz. Or. 36. p. 588. a. Maxim. vol. ii. p. 119. gives the following explanation of these words. "Here Christ is taken to be capable of ignorance only by dividing by an act of the mind the [two] essences.....If then one, by the help of such a mental division, conceive the ignorance in him, it will not

belong to him properly at all, because it is no necessary ingredient even of *our* nature, even though it be said owing to original sin to belong to it." By 'what appears,' Gregory would mean, the impression the words make at first sight, as distinguished from that they make upon further reflection.

it conveyed to Philip\* the impression that Christ did not know how many: or again, when he said, 'I go not up to this feast;' it conveyed to his relatives the impression that he was not going at all; or again, when he said, 'Why callest thou me good? there is none good but God;' it conveyed the impression that he was not God; or when he paid the tribute-money, he knew that he conveyed to the tax-gatherer an impression that he was a Roman subject, and not, even in his human nature, Lord of the universe. This is the principle of economy or lawful equivocation, such as cannot be condemned in itself without inculcating our Saviour, although the certain knowledge of all results which he had, entitled him to use it very far more unsparingly than we may. An instance of it in common life may be found in the evasive answers given to children, when they ask where they came from; answers, which are nearly sure to create a wrong impression upon them, but serve to keep from them knowledge which would lead to further questions detrimental to their innocence. The principle of relation is used when Christ says things which do not properly belong to himself, but only to his members: as when he says, 'Saul, why persecutest thou me?' or, 'my iniquities have overtaken me, and I was not able to see;' or when St. Paul says, 'then

\* St. Cyril comments here on Philip's dull-wittedness—and quotes the words, Hast thou been so long with me, Philip, &c. in proof of it.

† Cum venerit *Filius hominis*, putas inveniet fidem in terra. Dubitatio hæc *cuncta scientis* nostram in illo dubitationem præfiguravit. Aug. Ep. 93. 33.

so Ep. 140. 15. of Quare derel. me, 'Hanc in se vocem transfiguravit Jesus vocem suique corporis sui, h. e. Ecclesiæ &c. and see §. 17, 18, 27, 28, 29. which state the view admirably. In §. 27. he understands the words of the agony in the same way. But he is writing there to one unbaptized.

shall the Son also himself be subject to the Father ;' or, ' the Spirit himself maketh intercession with groanings which cannot be uttered.' This principle is very rife in common life, as, e. g. when authorities are said to do things which they only order or connive at. The other principle is, what I have called the principle of speculative distinction, and that is used when, for our better understanding of a matter, we mentally divide things in themselves indivisible. Thus Scripture speaks in places as if there were three different Gods, with different functions, one creating, and another redeeming, and another sanctifying : one wroth, another appeasing, and the like, although of course there is but one God, and one wrath of the three Persons. Nevertheless, God in his mercy\* adopts this clumsy method of shewing there are three distinct Persons, because it is the best way of making it come home to our minds, stunned and stupified as they are by the fall of Adam. The first and last of these principles we have already mentioned : and the remaining one need not at present be further considered.

18. St. Gregory, whose learning and wisdom even if he were not Pope, would entitle his opinion to the highest respect, gives his papal sanction to these principles, so far as to say, that there is nothing in the letters which contain them that he did not like. " I knew you could say such things as ought to come through the mouth of the doctor in St. Peter's see," he says : ' as for your doctrine about the heretics called Agnoetæ, there was that which we much

\* Leo. Serm. 77. §. 2. *Divisum* ut Pater propitiaretur, Filius visit sibi opus redemptionis propitiaret, Spiritus Sanctus nostræ *miseriordia* Trinitatis, igniret.

admired therein, but naught which displeased me \*.” And again; “Your doctrine is throughout concordant to the Latin Fathers. Touching all the enquiries [made by the monks], the Fathers of the Romans and Greeks<sup>b</sup>, whom we are followers of, have spoken with one spirit.” St. Gregory was too unwell at the time to go into the question fully: but it is remarkable, that he here expresses his satisfaction with the doctrine of Eulogius, and his conviction that both Roman and Greek Fathers were of one mind upon the matter. His words shall in part be quoted, because they shew, that at the very moment he points out the Nestorian tendency of this heresy, he speaks of the Wisdom of God in a way that implies that it imparted all knowledge to the soul it had taken. “The Father alone is said to know, because it is from his nature that the Son, who is consubstantial with him, and who by that nature excels the Angels, has the knowledge of what the Angels are ignorant of. And from this too we can get a clearer idea how the Only-begotten, when incarnate and made a perfect man for us, *in* the nature of his humanity knew indeed of the day and the hour of the judgment, which however he did not know *from* the nature of his humanity. Hence what he did know *in* it, he did not know from it<sup>c</sup>. For God, when made man, knew the day and hour

\* So Innoc. I. writes, inter Ep. Aug. 188. §. 5. of Pelagius, in almost the same words, inverted; “In ejus libro nihil quod placeret et pœne nihil quod non displiceret.”

<sup>b</sup> Ep. x. 36. and 35. It seems as if he had been looking into the Fathers on the subject, from the mention of Severus

of Gabala in Ep. 36. a writer not unfrequently cited in the Councils. If so, this judgment is the more remarkable, as proving that St. Greg. at least saw clearly enough through difficulties, which have been raised from the earlier Fathers.

<sup>c</sup> This is a concise statement of what was said above, §. 9.

of the judgment through the power of his deity."... "That knowledge then which he had not from the nature of his humanity, owing to which he was, with the Angels, a creature, that with the Angels, who are creatures, did he say that he had not. The day and the hour of the judgment then he knows as God and man, but he knows it, because in him man is God. However, it is a mighty plain thing, that whoso is not a Nestorian, can by no means be an Ignorantist. For in what sense can any body that confesses that the Wisdom of God himself was incarnate, say there was any thing that God's Wisdom did not know? It is written, 'In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. All things were made by him:' if all things, then undoubtedly<sup>d</sup> the day and hour of the judgment. Who then would be so foolish as to say, that the Word of the Father made what he does not know? It is also written, 'Jesus knowing that the Father had given all things into his hands:' if all things, then surely the day and the hour of the judgment. Who then is so foolish as to say, that the Son received into his hands what he did not know?" St. Gregory here implies, that the Word knew what he made before he was Jesus, and also when Jesus and as Jesus knew the same. By these two texts he proves, that the Wisdom incarnate brought into this state of being that which he had before, and gave it, as far as communicable, to the nature assumed. With this meaning attached to his words, it will be clear how an Ignorantist is at bottom a Nestorian.

<sup>d</sup> Upon this idea of creating time, see on St. E. p. 352. note b.

\* So St. Ephrem says, our Redeemer knew the hour, p. 355. see note.

19. We have been led to the present point, from considering in what state the human nature was which Christ took: we have seen how St. Austin, early in the Pelagian controversy, exempted that nature in Christ from ignorance, and in combating Pelagianism refuted Nestorianism also; how through divine predestination he ascribed to Christ that fullness of grace which St. Cyril, the soul of the council of Ephesus, also ascribed to him. We have seen how the assertion of the adorableness of Christ's flesh helps to acquit his soul of ignorance, and how the apparent assertion of ignorance, in one text in particular, may be explained upon three different principles. Let those who think they may safely hold the soul of Christ was ignorant of any thing, remember how much they *must* admit that it knew. In this way they will gradually give up their prejudices, and with them the danger of being driven off through a Nestorian heresy into Pelagianism. It will be well, if they also bethink themselves, what a hard heart they are giving to that sacred humanity, which, though it foresaw how millions of Christians would reverence his Mother, yet had so little compassion for us in that humanity, that with his dying breath he made us fancy it was a privilege to have her for a Mother! throughout his life he took no pains to inform us, that when such a devotion should spring up, it would be displeasing to himself!



## CHAP. XIV.

## FARTHER REFLECTIONS UPON THE HERESY OF THE AGNOETÆ.

1. THE ancients used to divide what is now called dogmatic theology into two parts: theology, or the discussion of God's nature and attributes; and economy, or the discussion of the Incarnation, and matters connected with it. When we consider the number of senses in which 'economy' is used, it is easy to see, that this word left room for much uncertainty as to the precise meaning intended. As the management of a household involves the concealment of family secrets from those without, it seems first of all to have been adopted to express that concealment which early Christians found necessary amongst Pagans. From this it may have been transferred to that divine dexterity, (so to speak,) whereby our Lord disguised himself, and appeared to men in general as a mighty Prophet indeed, but not as God in the flesh, and spoke to others in parables, and only (as it were) transfigured his teaching before a few chosen out of the world. As the Incarnation itself was an instance of God disguising himself, it was specially called 'the economy.' The mean and shabby appearance, which Christ's outward circumstances gave him, little sorted with the royal dignity of his human nature; but the Fathers spoke of that human nature itself as a filthy garment, and applied the description of the high priest in Zachary as a

type of God clothed with humanity. From these two senses of the word economy, it often happens that we cannot tell whether they mean to speak of something which Christ had really and truly in his human nature, or something which he did to avoid the semblance of being some one extraordinary. In the same manner, they say he did a thing humanly, without meaning necessarily that it was *in* his human nature, but *from* it, as St. Gregory said, i. e. he did it not as being man, but in order to seem a man. Now the Incarnation in itself naturally gives rise to this perplexity: nobody can blame the holy Fathers, if for wise purposes they presented Christ to the world, as Christ himself had presented himself to that hard and unbelieving questioner. The only question would be, whether he had not in secret delivered to his Church from the first the true doctrine, for which the world has no eyes. Leaving this question alone, however, as beside our present purpose, let us see whether this perplexity has not its origin in something which it is to our purpose just to notice here. It seems to originate in this, that as Almighty God, if Almighty, *could* have saved us in some other way, we cannot reason, to use the old distinction, upon the economy as upon theology. Reasoning about God and the Trinity, is reasoning about his own unalterable immutable nature, which cannot be otherwise: reasoning about the Incarnation, is reasoning about what might have been otherwise, and which came to be, as it is, by an act of God's will.

2. For these reasons it has been endeavoured in this book, in order to avoid several difficult questions, to represent the matter throughout as one dependent on God's will. The thing has been put thus: God

having chosen such and such a mode\* of saving us, has chosen such and such means to do it: for the knowledge of these means we depend upon his revelation, for the systematic arrangement of them upon his Church. He having determined by suffering to save us, he took such a body as was able to suffer, or able not to suffer, as he pleased, and not such a one as was not able to suffer: when once we know he has decreed by suffering to save us, it was, as far as we can see, absolutely necessary that he should take a body able to suffer. But suppose he had taken a body to save us in some other planet, and not told us at all, in what way he would redeem us with that body: if we knew that body was perfectly united to the Divine Nature, we should have concluded it was perfectly glorious, and incapable of change. If a subsequent revelation informed us that it was to suffer, then and then only we should correct our former ideas, and assume that God had given it those capacities necessary for suffering. This would be the natural way to act, to allow that if a created nature was taken into God, it was the act of his will, and consequently that it would have as much or as little glory as he chose to give it: yet it would be natural also to assume, unless fresh revelations forbid us, that it had the utmost amount of glory compatible

\* Epist. 137. §. 8. In talibus rebus tota ratio facti est potentia facientis. Anselm cur Deus, Homo i. 8. Sufficere nobis debet ad rationem voluntas Dei, cum aliquid facit. Lugo de Incarn. xxi. §. 3. n. 26. *Potuit* Deus assumere naturam bruti cum suis imperfectionibus et per consequens...stoliditatem naturalem asini. I find

so much ado to understand what God *has* done, that I am obliged to let alone these "Spanish questions" about what he *could* have done, and leave them to stronger intellects and bodies who may have spare energy to bestow upon them. Lugo himself shews their utility, de Jure et Just. init., to those who have such energy.

with the end intended and revealed. If the economy of man's salvation had been carried on in a sphere of which we have no cognizance, this is the way we probably should have reasoned about it. Now the invisible part of our own world<sup>b</sup> may be regarded as such a sphere: and in this world the soul of Christ comes; by parallel reasoning we should argue, that when united with God, it would have as much wisdom as God willed for the end designed, and if we could not find out how much he had willed, we should assume it was full of wisdom till better informed. If we had a number of texts to make an induction from, and found the majority of them ascribed to the man Christ Jesus, a knowledge of the secret will of men, devils, and Angels, the degree of punishment awaiting sinners of different generations, and the signs immediately preceding the assignment of that punishment, and the like, such an induction would be enough to build upon, even if owing to some few adverse texts it did not amount to a demonstration. This, for all one could see, would hold good, if we were wholly unable to determine what amount of communication of attributes unity of Person naturally implies, and unable to argue from the silence of holy Writ as to faith, memory, reasoning, and the like, and had only the texts above mentioned to go by. The chief of those other adverse texts has already been considered, and it has been pointed out that it contains a *climax*, which goes to prove the induction as much almost as to

<sup>b</sup> In assertions of this nature it should not be forgotten, that Plato divined that perfect love or wisdom would be inglorious

and persecuted, if it came into this world. Polit. vii. §. 2. Phædo, §. 22.

undermine it. There are other texts which deserve a consideration, but it will be useful first to notice a speculation raised about this text at the beginning of the Ignorantist controversy. And it is a mere speculation, which sets itself at ease about the induction which serves to shew what was God's will in regard to the amount of light Christ's soul had, and raises an enquiry out of the text of St. Mark, as if it was the only one which bore on the subject. However, as a similar difficulty may strike and puzzle others, it will be at once honest and satisfactory to have given it a place here.

3. The father of the Agnoetæ argued thus: "If the body of Christ be corruptible, we ought to say that he was ignorant of some things." And an objection substantially the same was put before St. Gregory, who unfortunately was too ill at the time to give this part of the question a consideration. He states it thus, more clearly: "To what I have said, our common son Anatolius the deacon answered by another question; suppose, he says, it was objected to me, that, as being immortal, he deigned to die to free us from death, and though eternal before all times, he chose to be under time, so, being the Wisdom of God, he took our ignorance that he might free us from ignorance? This I have not yet given him an answer about, because this severe illness keeps hanging about me still." . . . "But I am not going to tell *you* any thing about this, lest I should seem to be teaching you things that you know." It is plain that he saw the answer to this difficulty, and saw that Eulogius knew it also. But the method of stating the matter here adopted, avoids the necessity of a speculative answer to this question, by sub-

stituting a practical one : this method does not concern itself with making out how God's plan was consistent as a theory, (which would be a task for the schoolmen, and therefore ill-adapted to the persons for whom this book is intended,) but it considers what end he had in view, and what means he has revealed himself to have used, and how these are consistent when revealed. Now how ignorance should be a means to save the ignorant, neither revelation nor reason points out : that Christ has been made wisdom to us, the former declares ; that wisdom has a natural tendency to save the ignorant, reason, not forbidden to do so by revelation, obstinately suggests. Moreover, reason can make an induction from a number of texts in favour of such a conclusion : the text of St. Mark itself, containing the climax that it does, contributes to this induction.

4. But it may be said : this after all is only eluding the difficulty which Anatolius has raised : the speculative difficulty as such ought to be answered, if, as you have said, revelation, though not attainable by reason, is consistent in the eyes of reason when by faith she has gotten hold of it. Let us then proceed to state the objection a little more fully, and to shew upon several grounds that there really is no weight in it. The objection then when fairly put seems to amount to this. The fact is, that Christ took certain human affections or liabilities in order to save us, which, humanly speaking, have no tendency to save us. This fact makes it antecedently credible, that he took other such affections, which, humanly speaking, have no such tendency : this antecedent credibility, of course, is good for nothing in regard to such liabilities as upon other grounds are discarded, as, for instance, concupiscence, which cannot without

a horrible blasphemy be ascribed to Christ<sup>d</sup>. But when we have a text like that in question, which falls in with such antecedent probability and confirms it, then it cannot be denied that you have as much proof as you can expect in a matter of this sort. What reason arguing from revelation would guess to be the case, that revelation, if it does not positively assert, at least nods a silent assent to. This, if I understand it, is the drift of Anatolius's difficulty : and it is the meaning of Themistius's argument, if he did not speak of the corruptibility of Christ's flesh in an untenable and heretical sense. This at least is the objection to which an attempt will here be made to supply an answer<sup>e</sup>.

5. Now it might be said, that this objection admits of a ready and simple solution from the consideration of the fluctuating nature of a body, as contrasted with that of a soul. No human body considered in and by itself, has at any given time any claim to glory. For that particular system of matter which we call our body to-day, is not identical with that particular system of matter which we shall call our body at some future time, say next year. But that particular spirit which we call our soul, preserves its identity

<sup>d</sup> Aug. Op. Imp. iv. 60. Immaniter Juliane blasphemias carnem Christi cœquans cæterorum hominum carni.

<sup>e</sup> Vide Fulgent. Epist. xviii. §. 9. who says in reply to a question sent him from the East, Manifestissime apparet quid de animalis ac mortalis corporis qualitate debet omnis Christianus firmâ credulitate sentire: impossibile est ut corruptibilitas esse negetur ubi animalis corporis mortalitas esse invenitur. Christus ergo

in solâ carne portavit nostram corruptionem in qua veraciter nostram portavit et mortem. Leont. de Sect. x. p. 530. e. suggests the remark, that the Greek word ἀφθαρτον, answers either to the Latin incorruptum, or to incorruptibile, i. e. it may either deny the fact, or the possibility of corruption. This ambiguity enabled the Gaianites to support their heresy by quotations from the Fathers, which seemed to favour it.

throughout, is one and the same at the first instant of its creation, and at the furthest conceivable period of its existence. Consequently, if once in a state of favour with God, it has a claim to glory as long as it does not forfeit that favour. Now whether some portion of Christ's body remained identical throughout or no, is a nicety, in respect to the present question, which need not be determined. That the whole of his body was not the same, cannot be denied: the blood, for instance, which he shed at the circumcision, was not only not shed with the same intention as that shed in his passion, but was also absolutely and physically not identical with it<sup>f</sup>. Hence it is quite possible, that the law of the Incarnation should require Christ to give his indivisible soul, whose essence was unalterable, a state of glory such as the beatific vision was, yet not require him to give his divisible body, whose essence was fluctuating, the glory it was capable of. It is clear then that there is no possibility of drawing conclusions from the deficiencies of his body to those of his soul. To argue, *à fortiori*, from the adorableness of the mutable essence of the flesh, to the glory of the immutable soul, seems reasonable enough, revelation permitting: but to argue from the imperfections of the mutable essence to those of the immutable, appears absurd. Lest, however, such a mode of meeting Anatolius's objection should not seem adequate, the following considerations may be added.

<sup>f</sup> Non est absurdum ut similiter resurgant corpora quæ dissimiliter orta sunt. Hujusmodi autem homines non valentes intueri, ad quam rem intersit aliquid diversum et ad quam non intersit, ubi adver-

terint aliquam distantiam primordiorum, etiam omnia consequentia distare oportere contendunt. Aug. Epist. cii. 4. V. Lugo de Incarn. xiv. no. 46. and no. 75.



6. I. The whole objection presumes, that Christ redeemed man by taking certain things which belong to man: thus, for instance, Christ did not take an Angel's nature, but man's nature to redeem man, and it is directly and specially by virtue of its being man's nature that it has the particular effect which it has upon the human race. The taking of man's nature is what redeems man. This nature may be taken, as we have said from the first, in different states, all of which leave the nature itself the same. For convenience we will suppose three different states, in which it might be taken: either the fallen state, or the upright state, or a state differing from either of these. That the nature of man in Christ was not in the fallen state, is perfectly clear, for it was not subject to lust or disease, or to compulsory hunger, death, and weariness. This then may be set aside as not being a state, from which we can argue, to prove that it was likely that Christ took its ignorance. Let us next see, whether the state in which it was in Adam will furnish any better parallel to the state it was in Christ. Now Adam was not obliged to die, but he was so far capable of dying, that he was obliged to take food<sup>s</sup> to support his life. "As he sinned," St. Austin says, "by eating of the forbidden tree, so he would have sinned, by not eating of the tree of life, because he would be grudging himself the life which came from that tree<sup>h</sup>." 'The tree of

<sup>s</sup> The use Mopsuestene and his partizans made of this need of eating was, to shew that Adam was created mortal in such sense as to be obliged to die, not in such sense only as to be able to die. Vide Garn. ad Merc. ii. p. 257. i. p. 297. Anselm. cur Deus H. i. 18.

states this distinction thus: 'Habebant in Paradiso *quandam* immortalitatem id est potestatem non moriendi; sed non erat immortalis hæc potestas quia poterat mori.'

<sup>h</sup> Op. Imp. vi. 30. and de Pecc. Mer. et Rem. i. §. 3. Leont. cont. Aphth. ii. p. 568.

the knowledge of good and evil being the only one of which he was commanded not to eat.' "To be unable to die is one thing, to be able not to die another; the former implies the greater, the latter the less, immortality." "Adam was also able to die, because he was able to sin<sup>2</sup>." To be able to die, then, belongs originally to man's nature: to be obliged to die, is what sin introduced<sup>3</sup>. In the same way, to be subject to time belongs originally to man's nature. Day and night, the sun and moon, for signs and seasons, were made before Adam, to mark out time. The two things then actually specified in the objection belong to man's nature when upright. And if Christ had taken it, he still could have died for us, and lived for us. But who will say, that ignorance belonged to Adam originally? So if Christ took man's nature in this state, it was not necessary for him to take ignorance. The fact of his taking two things inherent in our nature, does not the least go to prove that he took a third thing not inherent in our nature. If then you say, that though the objection specifies these two things alone, it only specifies them as samples, there being other

ext. vol. i. Canis. de Sectis. x. p. 530. b. εἰ καὶ ἀφθαρτον αὐτὸ ὁμολογῶμεν μετὰ τὴν ἀναστασιν οὐ τῇ φύσει αὐτὸ λέγομεν ἀφθαρτον, τῇ δὲ χάριτι.

<sup>2</sup> Aug. Ib. vi. 25. and i. 68. (comp. Anast. Sin. p. 110. c.) Epist. 95. §. 7. Corpora post resurrectionem cibo corruptibili non indigebant, nec tamen eum capere non poterunt veraciterque consumere potestate non necessitate. Alioquin nec Dominus eum post res. accepisset, &c.

<sup>3</sup> Maxentius, who was keen

enough against the Nestorian party, says not amiss: Confitemur rectum in omnibus a Deo creatum Adam, non mortalem neque immortalem sed utriusque capacem, habentem in proprii facultate arbitrii et velle et posse, &c. B. P. vol. iv. p. 439. d.

<sup>b</sup> Οὐδ' Αὐτοῦ κυρίως ἐστὶν, ὃ μὴ τε ἡμῶν κατὰ φύσιν ὡς συστατικόν, εἰ καὶ ἡμῶν εἶναι λέγεται διὰ τὴν ἀρχαίαν παράβασιν οἷον ἡ ἀγνοία ἡ ἐγκατάλειψις κ. τ. λ. Maximus C. ii. p. 119. quoted above, p. 274. note u.

things in Christ, such as gradual growth, fear, weariness, sweat, which Adam had not; then you admit that our nature, when once in Christ, was neither in the same state as it was before the fall, nor in the same state as it was after the fall. Therefore there was no necessity which compelled him, when he took the nature of man, to take all its accidents as fallen: the original determination to take man's nature, did not oblige him when he had taken it, to take, in consequence, all the adjuncts of one state or of the other. Therefore what he would take or what not, depended upon his will, and he only did take such as were useful to save us.

7. II. But it may be said, 'human ignorance entails upon us a vast number of miseries, and why should not Christ sanctify those miseries by taking them, as well as those other miseries which he confessedly did take?' This form of the objection may be met in two ways. First, whatever ignorance Christ according to you did take, it was not human ignorance in any ordinary sense of the words. He took a great many real human miseries, and among them, human death. These are not negations which we cannot define, as ignorance is, but something positive. Death, says Plato, is nothing else but the separating of two things, the soul and the body: and this Christ really took; his was really human death. But Christ knew the hearts of men, and needed not that any should tell him what was in man; he knew that he always did the things which pleased the Father<sup>c</sup>, he knew what Satan was thinking to do with St. Peter, he knew what signs would immediately precede the judgment and other things already pointed out. Human ignorance is to be

• John viii. 29.

sure not the ignorance of a brute beast, yet it is not compatible with all these cognitions. It was not then human ignorance which Christ took, but if you please angelic ignorance: his taking this would not do us any more good, than if he had taken the nature of Angels, and we have been supposing all along that as the nature<sup>a</sup> he took healed us, because it was real human nature, so the affections of that nature helped to that end, because they were real human affections. Secondly, as it is true that human ignorance entails many miseries upon us, so it is true that wisdom and knowledge produce vexation of spirit. The miseries Christ endured through his knowledge of men's hearts alone, putting his knowledge of hell and purgatory quite out of the question, infinitely outdid any miseries which the assumption of our ignorance could have entailed upon him. As then he did not take human ignorance, but if any ignorance that of some other beings, and that, and not this, is the only ignorance which would sympathize with and sanctify ours, so he did not diminish his miseries by adding to knowledge<sup>c</sup>, but increase them.

8. III. If a man had the wisdom given to him which should enable him perfectly to order his own affairs, we must suppose that he would know exactly the number of his days, and how long he would have to live from the first, that he might apportion his time accordingly. David desired such knowledge, Hezekias and many saints of the new covenant approached to it. If grace were given to a man from the first to make a good use of such know-

<sup>a</sup> The celebrated expression p. 740. b.  
of Nazianzen may be quoted • Eccl. i. 18.  
here: τὸ ἀπρόσληπτον ἀθεράπευτον.

ledge, he might from the first know the whole course of actions he had to do with and to administer, and know the day and the hour when the administration of them would cease. This knowledge we are not generally entrusted with: the ignorance we have of the time of our death may strictly be called part of that human ignorance entailed upon us by the fall. But if we consider that God has appointed a day, in which he will judge the world in equity by the Man whom he hath appointed, and that all judgment is given to the Son, and that the increase of his government and of peace shall have no end; we shall see, that what Christ has to do with and to administer is one vast whole, reaching not to the day of his death, but up to the consummation of all things. He had to legislate for the whole of time, to be both alpha and omega, the beginning<sup>f</sup> and the end to his kingdom, and therefore a knowledge of the time he had to gather in his elect was necessary to him. Angels might wish to put in the sickle before the time: but he only knew when that time would be. In the *time* of the harvest, he says, I, the incarnate Word, will say to the reapers, 'Gather ye together first the tares<sup>g</sup>.' He then who knows what he will do, when the time is come, must know, when the time is to come: for he speaks of what he will do at harvest time plainly, as of a time which he knows and will restrain others till it is come. It belongs then to Christ, as master of his house and lawgiver to all, to know the times and the seasons for doing

<sup>f</sup> "Ἐτι ἡ ἀρχὴ λέγεται εἶναι ἡμῖν τοῦ παντός, ὥστε καὶ τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ μικρόν ἁμάρτημα ἀνάλογόν ἐστι πρὸς τὰ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις μέρεσιν. Aristot.

Pol. v. 4. Hence it would as ill become Alpha to err as Omega.

<sup>g</sup> Matt. xiii. 30.

all things. It is moreover clear, from the parable just alluded to, that he orders the angels when to reap, and this he does because they do not of themselves see what is in the heart; and the prophet says, the day of vengeance is in Christ's heart<sup>b</sup>, therefore he could reveal it to them. The Angels also are represented as desirous to act before he gives the word, for they do not always do what is pleasing to the Father, because they do not always know it. Thus Michael and the prince of Persia resist each other till they do know God's will<sup>i</sup>: and so he calls them servants in the parable, because the servant knoweth not what his Lord doeth. It is plain then from this parable, that it belongs to Christ as a lawgiver, not as Moses, not as a servant, who knows not what his Lord doeth, but as the Son, in his own house, to have before him the pattern, as it were, of all God's plans for our redemption, and the times and seasons for executing them.

9. Whether then we consider the state of the nature which Christ took, the sort of ignorance which human ignorance is, or the work Christ had before him to do, it does not appear that his having taken some of man's infirmities is any reason whatever for thinking he took that particular one of ignorance. It is clear, moreover, both from the *climax* in St. Mark, and also from the parable just referred to, that the Son of man excels the Angels in knowledge: and therefore has not even an Angelic ignorance. Nor does it seem, whatever pains heretics may take to secure him some ignorance or other, that there is

<sup>b</sup> Isai. lxiii. 4. This text is used against the Agnoetæ by Isidore, Orig. viii. 5. §. 68. Sentent. i. 27. §. 1.

<sup>i</sup> See St. Ephrem, in Dan. x. 13. Petav. de O. S. D. iv. 13 §. 16.

room left by Scripture for securing him the ignorance of any creature whatsoever. Perhaps then the difficulty of Anatolius may be dismissed.

10. It may be said, that if Christ knew in his human soul more than the Angels, and the Angels see always the face of the Father, i. e. always enjoy the beatific vision, how comes Christ to say upon the Cross, in the words St. Eulogius quoted, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me? These are not the words of one who always sees the face of the Father, but of one who might at times not see it. The Fathers indeed commonly explain this as said by Christ in the person of his members, or as a lesson to them what to fear at the time of death. To this explanation, perhaps the Septuagint version of the next verse not a little contributed: 'far from my salvation are the words of *my sins*<sup>1</sup>,' which words absolutely required such a sense to be given to the place as should suit the body rather than the Head. In this way the Christian may find a wholesome and canonical sense in them, although the grammarian must needs smile at the droll confusion between two Hebrew words<sup>m</sup> out of which it seems pretty certain that that version originated. Moreover, it was distinctly stated in another Psalm, that God would not forsake Christ's soul in hell, where Hebrew and Greek have the same word for 'forsake' again; so that a meaning was required for one text which would not gainsay that of the other. If then a

<sup>1</sup> Austin. Epist. 140. §. 17.

<sup>m</sup> שׁוֹנֵנִי has been translated as if it was שׁוֹנֵנִי: the Septuagint redounds with blunders of this sort, so as to put the thing almost beyond a doubt. Vide Hodium. de text Orig. Nevertheless for all that, the

Septuagint version was the Scriptures which were able to make Timothy, a *Greek*, wise unto salvation; and so the Holy See in the Psalms uses it still, not minding the 'laws of Donatus,' as Gregory says in his preface on Job.

person goes by the Fathers, it is not likely he will find much countenance for explaining this passage otherwise than by that principle of reference which Eulogius uses to explain it by. But if he goes by those modern expositors who think our Lord at that time withheld from his blessed soul the beatific vision, the method adopted in this book secures him a free access to such an interpretation. For the degree of light Christ's soul had has not been made the *necessary* consequence of the assumption of a human nature, but a consequence depending upon his will, which he could suspend at pleasure. As his passion was always present to his soul and might at any time, had he pleased, have agonized his body, but he only did please once to permit it so to agonize it; so perhaps we may say unblameably, that he might at any time have withdrawn that beatific vision, had he chosen to deprive himself of it, though he did so deprive himself but that once. Yet this voluntary and momentary ignorance, if such it may be called, has a plain and decided reference to us men, and to our salvation; it is taking upon himself in the sight of all the Angels, that terrific struggle for which he fortifies us by the Sacrament of Extreme Unction, and thus setting them an example to compassionate us, by proving that it may be sanctified. It was a suffering which he could not have endured unless that beatific vision had preceded. No Catholic divine will however admit, that what the words seem to imply is true; for they seem to imply not only that the consciousness of the union is voluntarily suspended, but that the union itself is suspended. And this it would be blasphemous to assert of Christ, whose soul and body, though they could be separated



from each other, always remained in perfect union with God, that the death on the Cross might be God's death and not a creature's. God did not therefore really forsake him, but at most withheld the consciousness of his union with that soul. Hence at the last the name of Father and not of God is re-assumed, in the very moment of his passion when his soul was actually suffering, and the weakness of human nature was set forth to the utmost, he styled him Father and not Lord: saying, Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit". For a union that could be dissolved would not have been a perfect union, any more than immortality such as Adam had was a perfect immortality. And the Church has always held that it was one Lord, who not only suffered and died, but was also buried for us: and if death and burial did not dissolve the union, much less would suffering. Death too is always spoken of as Christ's last degradation: *factus est obediens usque ad mortem*.

11. It is worth mentioning, that infidels have thought that these words naturally implied impatience in Christ: because this shews, that according as we are in a Catholic, heretical, or infidel frame of mind, words such as we have been discussing will naturally imply different things. To an instructed Catholic this sort of economy or disguise upon our Lord's part will appear perfectly natural. To him it will not seem wrong for Christ to do things as man, which he would not have done as man one with God. Jesus would be condemned of jesuitry by

▪ Hadrian. i. in H. 4. p. 869. comp. 878. d. 'Quia Dominus gloriæ idem ipse erat qui et hominis filius qui crucifigebatur, et *nunquam* hominem

deseruit (sicut dictum est) quem assumpsit, *ideo* dicitur Dominus gloriæ crucifixus.' See on Athan. iii. §. 56. p. 479. and on Ephrem. p. 317, 318.

those out of the Church, if he lived in our days : but to those in the Church, his conduct is explained by his religion. A priest now who was asked about a matter against any individual which he knew only from confession, would flatly deny, and with an oath if necessary, that he knew any thing at all about it, because he does not know it in such way as to disclose it. A high priest must needs have priests under him, and it is not wonderful if both the one and the other should have secrets which they can only disclose at the last judgment. "Of that day and hour he did not *so know* as then to point it out to his disciples," says St. Austin<sup>o</sup>; and in his interpretation most Catholics will acquiesce. And St. Cyril: "Christ is practising economy, when he says he does not know that hour, and is not really ignorant of it." And again, "Since he had clothed himself with our nature, on this account he pretended to have our ignorance also<sup>p</sup>." This text then, which was the main text cited by the Ignorantists, in no wise hinders us from ascribing to Christ fulness of grace and truth. For if he is once allowed to be full of truth from the first, he will be allowed to be full of grace. That the Bible Christian will find difficulties in the way of believing both the one and the other is readily allowed: but they are difficulties so analogous to those already discussed, that it is unnecessary to supply the reader with a separate solution of them. The next chapter will however, it is hoped, be found to supply some further materials for solving them.

12. Two passages of Cyril shall now be added, which, after what has been said, will be intelligible illustrations of Eulogius's principles. They relate to the passage of St. Mark, about which so much has

<sup>o</sup> De Trin. i. §. 23.

<sup>p</sup> Quoted above, n. p. 271.

been said already. 'Of that day and hour no one knoweth, neither the Angels of heaven, nor the Son, but the Father.' If, they say, you are determined to admit one Christ only, the Word made flesh or man, how came he to be ignorant of the day of the consummation [of all things]. We should answer: Well, to be ignorant of God's mysteries, is neither unusual, nor any wise unbecoming, in the creature. For who knows the mind of the Lord, as it is written. And if the Son is said to be made a little lower than the Angels, that is, so far as he became man, though beyond the whole creation, as God; what wonder, if it is said, that even he is ignorant along with the Angels of the mystery in God, though he is his Wisdom and his Power? But then how is the Wisdom of the Father to be ignorant of the things hidden in him? And if the Spirit is said to search all things, even the deep things of God, and the Spirit is Christ's, how is he to be ignorant of those things which his Spirit knows perfectly well? Consequently, though he is said to be ignorant humanly, yet he knows divinely. And so, when he asks where Lazarus is laid, because it was competent to him to be ignorant in his human nature, he yet wrought divinely by raising him from the dead. While then we deal out what is human to the *economy* with the flesh, let us, in an orthodox way, retain what befitteth God, for the Word born from God, even when he is made like us<sup>1</sup>."

13. The other passage is one which has been promised above, and is not like this, against Nestorianism, but against Arianism. The Arian says: "If we chose to entertain becoming sentiments, (you will say,) we ought to adapt to the stature of humanity what he says about not knowing the day

<sup>1</sup> ad Regin. p. 139-40.

and the hour." "Certainly I should," says Cyril, "without any kind of hesitation. A vast concourse of reasons, examined and approved, and all but nodding assent to us by their very looks, bid us take the road to this opinion, as one clean-swept of every difficulty. For I think the mean appearance of ignorance does not suit amiss with the proportions of the exinanition, being a deficiency not belonging to the nature of the Word, so far as he is conceived as Word and Wisdom of the Father. . . . For the wise Paul would not sure speak false when he writes to us, 'as no one knows the things of a man except the spirit of a man which is in him, so no one knows the things of God except the Spirit of God.' . . . If then the Spirit of the Father is the Son's own proper Spirit, how should he be ignorant of any of the things hidden in him, having as he has that Spirit as his own who knew all that is in the Father. For I hear him say distinctly to the holy Apostles, 'yet many things have I to tell you, but you cannot bear them now: but when he shall have come, the Spirit of truth, he will lead you into all truth: for he will not speak of himself, but whatever he shall hear, that he shall speak, and shall tell you things to come: he shall glorify me, because he shall receive of mine, and tell it to you.' Is not then the text adduced clear to you, and do you not see too that he names the Paraclete, 'Spirit of Truth,' yet said that he came forth from the Father, to shew them that all that is the Father's is his own also? . . . Leaving them then to linger over superfluous and long arguments, let us proceed. It was a custom of Christ our Saviour to act somewhat as follows towards the holy Apostles: if they asked any thing which had the appearance of a desire of learning, but which did not require in-

vestigations too deep for them, he used to favour them with an explication, and endeavour to make it specially clear to them. But if they wished to learn superfluously aught which was beyond their own proper measure, he used to sooth them gently, and persuade them to prefer being curious about things more fitting to know, and to do moreover those things by which they would become glorious, and have before God that splendid brightness which results from good works. When they prefer then, I know not how, to ask and to learn things above the measure of the servant, he persuades them to be quiet, putting them out of conceit with themselves by necessary reasonings, [such as] that the Father has not revealed it even to the Angels, nor made it known even to the Son himself, IF HE BE a mere man like themselves, and has not God's essence by nature. But when they press him and insist upon learning, then he goes as far as to rebuke them, and say, 'It is not for you to know the times and the seasons which the Father has put in his own power:' . . . thus ascribing surely to the divine nature the power of knowing alone and by itself whatever it may choose to accomplish. . . . Consequently, if right-minded, all we shall feel will be, that if he be said to be, along with us, ignorant of any thing according to the humanity, still, since he is God, the Son knew all that the Father knew<sup>r</sup>."

14. Here we see an exemplification of Eulogius's principles. Cyril makes our Lord speak as he did, because, though Creator, he is a creature, or rather has a created nature; this is the principle of mental distinction: or, because he sees the knowledge would be hurtful to them; this is the principle of economy.

<sup>r</sup> Dial. p. 628—30.

The remaining principle is not one which he ordinarily employs. But as he has the unity of Christ's person so continually before him when he speaks of Christ knowing things divinely, he speaks in such way as not only to have in view the knowledge of the divine nature, but also that infused into his human soul. Upon any other theory he would be found to divide Christ into two, owing to principles already cited from him; not to say, that he uses the argument drawn from the giving of the Spirit, where the giving out of the Spirit from the human nature is a proof of the oneness of the divine Person who gave him. The very discussion of such difficulties in St. Cyril leads us to a deeper sense of his subject: and he who would understand the doctrine he treats of, may do well to be devout himself, and to offer all suffrages he can for those who in their lifetime were devout, to the great doctor of the Incarnation.

## CHAP. XV.

## UPON THE EXPERIMENTAL KNOWLEDGE IN CHRIST'S SOUL.

1. AN acute writer has somewhere said, that if we could explain sleep, we could explain all the mysteries of man's nature. If this be true of man in general, it is in a far more august sense true of our blessed Redeemer. Christ is represented in Scripture as asleep, and not knowing what was going on until the disciples awaked him. Now how, it may be said, could a soul in perfect union with God, and seeing all things in God, be ignorant of what was going on close to him, and which nearly concerned him? Was he only pretending to be unconscious through sleep, or was he in any sense really so? And if really so, how can this be true, and all that has hitherto been said of Christ's human wisdom be else than false? How are the two consistent?

2. This question has been raised here, with a view of bringing before the reader the importance of ascribing to Christ a distinctly human knowledge, that is, a knowledge not merely *in* his human nature, though infused from his divine, but one human in its origin, as well as in its seat; one, in fact, to use St. Gregory's distinction, *from* his human nature. Christ had all that belongs to our nature in its perfection: hence he had the use of the senses, and power of exerting his mind upon the occasion of using them. "The Lord," says Augustine, "when he walked on land or on the sea, as it pleased him, as he willed, (for he could do whatever he willed,)

looked at what he pleased, cast his eyes on any thing and saw it, turned them away and saw it not: he that followed was behind him, he that was to be seen was before him: with the eyes of his body he saw what was before him<sup>a</sup>." Now the repetition of acts such as these has a tendency to produce a certain knowledge, which may subsist in spite of another knowledge anticipating its results. It is to this purely human knowledge to which attention is now called. In this passage of St. Austin, the belief in the existence of such knowledge is implied, but not distinctly stated. Notice has been taken above<sup>b</sup> of a fact, implying that the ancients felt this distinction. But it will be well to say first a few words upon what may be called the history of the doctrine; next, to endeavour to illustrate the two species of knowledge, and to say somewhat upon its bearing upon the formation of habits; and, lastly, to cite a passage from St. Cyril, in order to shew, that the object of the ancients in denying any advance in Christ is compatible with the object of the modern writers in asserting it.

3. Now in regard to the history of the doctrine, it is stated by Petavius<sup>c</sup>, that the distinction between infused and experimental knowledge is one not recognised by the ancients; that even St. Bernard followed the ancient writers in making the increase of grace and wisdom in Christ mean nothing more than an increased *display* of the wisdom and grace always in him from the first: that St. Thomas, at a still later period, denied the distinction in his earlier works, which in his later he took up with: that however, in spite of the absence of explicit state-

<sup>a</sup> Serm. 126. §. 13. comp. Op.  
Imp. iv. 49.

<sup>b</sup> Chap. x. §. 13.

<sup>c</sup> De Incarn. xi. 4. §. 9. and 2. §. 12.



ments, there are several passages of the Fathers to which this distinction will furnish a convenient outlet. Now if this statement be taken of the general run of thought and expression in the Fathers, it is unquestionably true. But it is worth observing, that expressions occur of an earlier date than St. Thomas's day, in which the distinction is clearly recognised. Thus St. Anselm<sup>d</sup> says of the words, 'He learned obedience,' that they mean, "either he made others to learn, or he learnt by experiment what by science he was not ignorant of." And St. Cyril<sup>e</sup> almost in the same words of a kindred text says: 'to his divine knowledge presupposed to exist, there was added also a learning by experiment itself.' Other isolated passages of a similar bearing may doubtless be found: but the ordinary and received theory among the Fathers for explaining passages which speak of Christ's advance in knowledge, is that which has been given, viz. it was only an advance in the outward display of it.

4. In controverting Nestorians it was, as has been observed, not directly to the purpose to consider the state of Christ's soul; so far as it was considered by St. Cyril, it was as a by-work to which the calumnies of the Nestorian party drove him: the subdivisions therefore of this subject, viz. the state of Christ's soul, were still more a by-work. Such texts, as were urged on the subject, were met, not by considering what their real sense was, so much as by considering how the heretical sense could be excluded. Nevertheless, when people come at leisure, and not in the turmoil of controversy, to consider the meaning of such words as 'he *learned* obedience by the things

<sup>d</sup> Cur Deus Homo i. 9. of Heb. v. 8.

<sup>e</sup> Ad Reginas, p. 159. b. of Heb. iv. 15. Cf. Gr. Naz. p. 581. a.

which he suffered,' they will naturally be led to see what real positive meaning consistent with the teaching of the Church can be affixed to them. Here the capacity for gaining by experience somewhat which he had not before, is distinctly attributed to our blessed Saviour. When we are encouraged to 'go with confidence to the throne of grace, it is because we have a High Priest who can have compassion upon (or, as the Anglican version has it, be touched with the feeling of) our infirmities.' Here it is plain, that a certain habit of mind gained by Christ in the days of his flesh, is referred to as a habit he still possesses, and as that which serves as the groundwork of the confidence we are to have in going to him. Hence it is important to shew how this experimental, gradually increasing, knowledge may be said to have existed in Christ, without unsaying what has been said, and important also to consider its bearing upon the habit of mind resulting from it. Let us proceed then, first, to endeavour to explain, how it is possible for a perfect and imperfect state of knowledge to coexist. In what is here offered, nothing refined will be attempted, but merely a popular outline, adequate to meet the purposes of this book. When people discard the teaching of the Church, they cannot complain, if schoolmen or any one else choose to frame a view to explain certain texts of Scripture: more particularly, if they think they can go confidently to the throne of grace, upon a certain principle, they must stand to that principle and not shrink from it, merely because it appears that some conclusions will follow from it which they do not relish.

5. In order to see whether experimental knowledge is destroyed by the existence of infused, or, as

Cyril calls it, divine knowledge, we must first have some idea of what experimental knowledge is. Now experimental knowledge may be popularly described to be all that knowledge which we amass, as we are forming habits in life: "nor do we know," says Butler in his Analogy, "how far it is possible in the nature of things that effects should be wrought in us at once equivalent to habits, *that is*, to what is wrought in us by use and exercise<sup>1</sup>." It is plain from these words, and indeed from the whole chapter from which they are taken, that this great thinker regarded a capacity for forming habits almost as a necessary part of human nature. Moreover, he regards use and exercise as essential to the formation of habits. If this be true, we shall have the following series of principles to reason upon. God the Son took human nature: a capacity for forming habits is essential to human nature: use and exercise (or, in other words, opportunities for experimental knowledge) are essential to the formation of habits. Neither can it, antecedently to distinct reasons for urging it, be urged against this, that you must not argue from common human nature to that 'singularly wonderful and wonderfully singular' specimen of it, which existed in God the Son, and had never any subsistence out of him. For if any one were to urge this, it might be urged against him from Scripture thus: Human nature, as it subsisted in God the Son, had a capacity for gaining habits, for he has gained habits of compassion towards us. But he gained those habits by

<sup>1</sup> Part i. chap. v. p. 121. Oxf. 1820. It may be observed here, that as there is no book which has done more than the Analogy towards converting Oxford men, so the principles of it are

especially borne in mind in this work: so much so, that the author is afraid he may seem obscure sometimes to those unacquainted with Butler.

the things which he did and suffered whilst upon earth. Therefore human nature, even as it is in God the Son, may have other habits gained by use and exercise, habits which he learned in the days of his flesh, but retains in the days of his glory. It is not obvious, therefore, what objection could be raised by a Bible Christian to applying Butler's principle even to the sacred Humanity itself. It may, for all this exceptional instance, be impossible, in the nature of things, that effects equivalent to habits, i. e. to what is wrought by use and exercise, should be wrought in us at once. For that Butler here does not use habit of something infused, as, e. g. faith at baptism, but of something, the result of repeated acts, is plain. So acute and well-informed a writer could never have been unconscious of cases of sudden conversions, were there even nothing at hand to point out as distinguishing the two senses of habit here intended. But it is obvious, that the habit in a baptized infant's soul which has passed to heaven, is different from the habit in a maturer saint who has learned obedience by the things which he suffered. When a Catholic prays to the latter, he does it with an express understanding, that the habit of mind gained by struggling against temptation includes a compassion the result of experience. *Haud ignara mali, miseris succurrere disco.*

6. But it may be asked, how can this acquired science be shewn to be compatible with infused science : if a man knows by inspiration, why want to learn by experience ? if the knowledge exists already from any source, how is it possible that another and a separate source should create it ? It is necessary again to remind the reader, that the Incarnation is single and by itself, and therefore that

all illustrations of it are necessarily very imperfect. However, one or two shall be attempted here. Now it is possible to conceive a person thoroughly and perfectly convinced by mathematical reasonings, of any given mathematical truth. By going over the process, by which he had convinced himself, again and again, his conviction is strengthened. A person habituated to mathematical reasoning loses all desire for any other sort of proof of facts or principles, of which he has convinced himself by mathematical reasoning. Gradually he gets a step farther; he not only does not see, that the mere repetition of the process by which he convinced himself at first, gives, as a repetition, the very process by which habits are formed, but he denies that experimental proof adds any thing to his conviction. Now suppose a person in this state of mind, in which he has so firm a reliance upon mathematical reasonings as to be wholly unconscious of any accession of conviction by experimental proof: still he may be conscious, that experimental proof is a proof capable of being regarded alone, and by itself, in its source and its result wholly independent of mathematical reasonings. An ordinary person, on the contrary, not so habituated to mere mathematical reason, would probably feel a positive increase of conviction, by the use of experimental proof. A person who had only just learnt that the squares upon two sides of a rectangled triangle equal the square upon the side subtending the right angle, would probably feel some sort of increment in his conviction, when an experiment made with pieces of paper confirmed the impression made by mathematical reasoning. At any rate, if the existence of such increase does not appear to you as palpable as to me, the thing may serve as

an illustration to help us to conceive the existence of a knowledge perfect in its kind, yet compatible with another of an imperfect and increasable character.

7. Again, there are certain strong analogies between memory and imagination : the one represents to us things after they have happened, the other often represents them even before they have happened. There are certain kinds of pain analogous to other kinds of pain, which we may imagine beforehand by virtue of this analogy. But there are other kinds of pain which antecedently to experience we cannot imagine, however well we may remember them after experience of them. Yet neither imagining nor recollecting are the same with feeling ; though we may conceive a supernatural process, putting before us far more vividly than the natural process of imagining, all the details of pain. It was by a process altogether supernatural, that the pains of his passion were presented to the mind of our Saviour before he suffered them : yet even this was distinct from the actual feeling of them.

8. Again, the heathen philosophers held the existence of natural virtues, as opposed to acquired ones, held, that is to say, that certain minds had a physical or natural bias towards certain virtues, and not towards others. Now though time and practice would fill out and give body as it were to those natural biasses, yet the original dim conception of the beauty of certain virtues was of separate and distinct origin from the experimental knowledge of them elicited by repeated acts. And it is as well to add here, as something not foreign to the subject, that when their attention was once turned this way, it could not but lead to the observation of singular facts, which further started many questions too hard for heathen philosophy to answer. Thus, Aristotle

starts the question, how, if we must *become* just by doing just actions, and *be* just in order to do them, it was ever possible to arrive at justice, i. e. at that habit which was necessary to give the act of virtue its character. This is a question, which, with all his acuteness, he but poorly answers. The sudden conversion of Polemo was too unusual and too unaccountable a fact in those days to build any thing upon. Yet suppose a Holy Spirit infusing the one part of what we call habit, and repeated acts by use and exercise doing the rest, and we have some distincter idea how the question Aristotle raises may be solved; we *are* just when we begin upon a course of justice, so far forth as God works in us both to will and to do: we *become* just, so far as we ourselves work out our own salvation. In the parable of the vineyard, our Lord complains of those who plead their own works as a reason for reward: in the parable of the talent, he makes them state that they have earned five or two talents more, and rewards them accordingly. This is a rude way of stating the matter indeed, and one to which many exceptions may be taken. Still, as habits imply not only the possession of a certain moral state, but also a consciousness in regard to that state; the consciousness necessary to begin a habit of any virtue, may be looked upon as the type of infused knowledge; the consciousness of its goodness acquired by doing acts of it, (by use and exercise, as Butler says,) as the type of experimental knowledge.

9. Again, if we suppose an Angel, for illustration's sake, to have a body given to him, it is clear that he would have a set of new channels of communication with the visible world given to him in the senses of the body: it is unnecessary and unnatural to sup-

pose that he would forfeit those powers of seeing houses, lands, trees, flowers, animals, and the rest, which he had antecedently to his supposed incarnation. Whatever influence this latter knowledge might exercise upon the former, it would not certainly destroy it, or prevent its free agency. Touch, and sight, and the rest, are sensations of which Angels have no experience such as we have : but an Angel if incarnate would become capable of such experience. Or, to put the thing in a less hypothetical light : those who believe the Apocalypse, believe that there are in heaven, now, certain spirits, which have come out of great tribulation, whether here or in purgatory, we need not now discuss. Now we must suppose them to be able to see the flesh of Christ in heaven, and our Lady's flesh, and St. John's flesh, and any flesh we may imagine rightly or wrongly to be there, without having any fleshly eyes to see them with. But at the Resurrection they will have such eyes, and consequently will see Christ in an additional and different manner. We can imagine their bodies prostrate, while adoring the Lamb, in such way that the use and exercise of seeing him with the eyes of the flesh should be suspended : but we cannot imagine the eyes of their mind to be ever taken off the flesh which redeemed them. This again, if not altogether acceptable, may serve to bring before us the fact, that an experimental knowledge can be separated from a habitually infused one. It is an illustration, and as such necessarily partial : it seems, as far as it goes, to limit experimental knowledge to knowledge gained through the senses, which is an inadequate idea of it. But it is adduced not as the most perfect conceivable illustration, but yet as one which will serve to shew one point in



regard to experimental knowledge, and that point is, that it is capable of an existence independent, both in its origin and in its continuance, of infused and immutable knowledge.

10. It is moreover undeniable, that the accumulation of knowledge through the senses is an ingredient in our idea of human nature: we cannot readily conceive full-grown human nature to be human nature at all, if we take out of it this element. Consequently that particular experimental knowledge which we gain in this manner, will, if ascribed to Christ, prove undeniably his capacity for experimental knowledge: even supposing there were no ascribing to him such mental sensations, as fear, wonder, anger, compassion, and other things, of which the mind may have experimental knowledge, irrespectively of the senses; still the use Christ made of the senses would prove his capacity for experimental knowledge. Hence when his eyes were closed in sleep, it might be said that he could not see; neither did he hear the noise of the storm about him, neither did he feel the wind and the spray: it might be argued from this, that he had a real human sleep, which is the function of a real human soul, when *in* the body, with the body, and not without it<sup>s</sup>; and therefore from this sleep it might be concluded that Christ had several attributes of real human nature. If this sleep then made upon the disciples some false impressions as to the state of Christ's soul, unquestionably it made some true ones. Christ was undoubtedly in full and perfect knowledge of the danger he was in, if by knowledge we mean that infused knowledge, which his soul possessed un-

<sup>s</sup> Vide Leont. c. Nest. i. 14, ap. Mai. C. N. vol. ix. p. 439.

changeably<sup>b</sup>; but if we mean that experimental knowledge which results from the senses and the present use of them, this was suspended. And this will lead us to reflect, how in other cases also Christ may have created impressions which were true, not barely because he had human nature, but also more particularly, because he had certain attributes of that nature.

11. It is desirable to consider also, how far Christ earned experimental knowledge with his soul, either as taken conjointly with the body, or as taken without it; an instance of the former is, when he not merely felt, but endured pain; an instance of the latter is, when he felt compassion or learnt obedience by mental sufferings and separate acts of resignation. But before passing on to this, it is as well to observe, what an important part the senses play in the acquisition of certain habits of a very durable character. Thus arts are certain productive *habits*, and last up to death, and, for all we know, leave some impression on the soul beyond death. Certainly people are able to issue from these habits energies according to them, long after they have suspended the continuous use of these habits. Thus St. Peter's skill in fishing, or St. Paul's in tent-making, were habits which remained in their soul, and which probably they could have acted according to, up to the day of their death. These habits were habits acquired through the medium of the senses. Out of this a question may be raised in regard to our blessed Saviour himself: the habit of skill in carpentry<sup>i</sup>, which he gained during thirty years' *experience*, more or less—what became of this,

<sup>b</sup> Quoad scientiam, quam habebat proportionatam cum statu animæ separatæ non dependebat a phantasiâ, et ideo illâ ute-

batur *dormiens et infans*. Lugo, de Inc. Disp. xx. §. 6. no. 75.

<sup>i</sup> Cyril, ap. Mai. C. Nov. ix. p. 85. writing against *Apollin-*

it might be asked? did it continue in his human soul, so that by virtue of it he could have done acts according to it, even after his Resurrection? This is brought in here not merely as an amusing speculation, which it would be indeed irreverent to raise about God incarnate—but to bring out very strongly the possibility of experimental knowledge in that divine soul; to strike the reader forcibly with the relation of such knowledge to habits; and to get clearly before us one portion both of the induction from which such relation is to be learnt, and of its difficulties, before we proceed to another.

12. The other instances which furnish the means of induction, are those in which the soul of Christ plays the more prominent part in the acquisition of experimental knowledge. They may now be considered in their relation to habits. There cannot be a fitter introduction to the consideration of them, than the words of the great doctor of the Incarnation, a part of which were quoted at the beginning of the chapter. “Consider, I pray,” he says, “the depth of the Apostle’s thoughts. We have not, says he, a High Priest who is not able to compassionate our infirmities, but one tempted in all things, like as we are, without sin. For even if the Word of God had never become man, he knew, yes, he knew even so, the weakness of man as being Creator. For he knows whereof we are made, as it is written, *Ipsē cognovit figmentum nostrum*. But if it be allowable to say even of him any thing human, he had not been as yet called to the actual experience (*πείρας*) of our weakness. But when he had also clad himself with our flesh, he has experience of it (*πεπειράται*,

*naris*, says, τὸ σοφία προκόπτειν θρωπίνου τοῦ . . . τέχνης καὶ ἐπι-  
οῦ Θεοῦ . . . ἀλλὰ τοῦ νοῦ τοῦ ἀν- στήμης δεκτικοῦ.

or is tempted) in all things. Yet we say not that he had this as having been ignorant, but what we say is, that to his divine knowledge presupposed to exist, there was added also a learning by experiment itself. And he became compassionate not surely from having been at one time tempted—for he was merciful by nature, and is so, as God—but since, along with being what he is, he has become like us, this also is said of him suitably to his human nature.” Here St. Cyril pretty distinctly ascribes to Christ a capacity for gaining by experience that compassionateness, which as God he always had. There can be little doubt, that in the divine knowledge previously supposed to exist, he includes that knowledge which the human nature of Christ had infused into it from the divine: and this opens the way for ascribing to him compassion and other things ‘befitting human nature,’ not as if he were before ignorant of them, nor as if they had not been infused by virtue of the hypostatic union, but as habits which he *also* condescended to learn by another and separate channel, by that of trial, temptation, or experience, which in Greek are expressed by one word.

13. Let us endeavour now to see what relation these acts of the mind of Jesus had to more permanent habits in his soul. It is observable, that his patience under trials leads St. Cyril to speak of his compassionateness as the natural result of that patience. And therefore compassionateness, or an active habit of compassion, might perchance by some be regarded as the one habit permanently remaining in our Saviour’s soul, now that all opportunities for patience in its proper sense have gone. Yet it may be concluded, by way of analogy, that other particular habits will remain in his soul. Thus,

for instance, the particular affection of our Lord towards St. John must be supposed to remain: it had resulted from experimental proof of St. John's goodness, so far forth, as it was a human and not a divinely-infused habit, resulting from ability to read the book of the predestinate. For if the rich man's affection for his brethren survived after he was buried in hell, a *fortiori*<sup>j</sup> the Poor and Needy would retain his affection. And the saints in the Apocalypse<sup>k</sup> rejoice that the accuser of their *brethren* is cast down; so that the retention of affection may extend to a spiritual relationship also. Hence it is natural, if not necessary, to infer the same with regard to all habits acquired by Jesus on earth, with certain limitations to be specified presently. What is meant is this: that if Christ retains compassion to us now as a habit gained in the days of his flesh, (not merely as an infused habit,) then he retains other habits gained in the days of his flesh also. Unless there is some particular reason for doing it, a Protestant has no right whatever to build his hope upon one habit so gained, and to quarrel with a Catholic for building his hope upon another habit so obtained.

14. As plenty of instances of acts tending to form these habits will be given as we go on, we need not forestal them here: but the particular reason why we may infer that some habits either are or appear not to

<sup>j</sup> A similar argumentum a fortiori occurs in St. Austin, Epist. 259. §. 5. Si dives ille superbus et impius.....recordatus est quinque fratres suos et rogavit ad eos eundem pauperem mitti, cujus requiem in sinu Abrahæ longe prospiciebat, ne et ipsi venirent in illum

locum tormentorum; quanto magis tua conjunx [defuncta] te recordatur? quanto magis te casta non vult ad poenas venire mœchorum, si fratres suos nec superbus ad poenas venire voluit superbiorum? &c.

<sup>k</sup> Apoc. xii. 10.

be retained, it is in place to examine here. Now it needs no reflection to see, that there are certain habits which seem as if they would have no external circumstances suited to them in a future state. Dives indeed had his affection without any external opportunities of using it: but here we are not considering what is the case of the wicked<sup>1</sup>, but what is the case of the good. But even the heathen could see, that in a future state of happiness there would be no direct need of some of the habits which we form here. "We shall have no need of fortitude there," said Cicero, "when there is no labour or danger; nor of justice, when there is no other man's goods to covet; nor of temperance, when there are no lusts for it to rule; nor should we need prudence either, when there was no chance of good and evil being set before us<sup>m</sup>." Now though a person may doubt whether this will be the case with these virtues in particular, at all events it is evident, that to consider what became of certain habits hereafter, came, so to speak, within the jurisdiction of heathen science<sup>n</sup>. And the proper answer to speculations of this sort seems to be the one which Augustine, and after him Butler, has suggested, that our ignorance of the particular scope or occasion there will be for the exercise of the different virtues, is no proof that

<sup>1</sup> Lugo, Disp. xx. §. 5. 70. possunt manere in damnatis species supernaturales quorundam bonorum non ex beneficio gratiæ sed ex affectu majoris vindictæ, sicut manet in aliquibus character supernaturalis et notitia illius.

<sup>m</sup> Quoted by St. Austin de Trin. xiv. 12. and also without the name, in Ps. lxxxiii. §. 11.

<sup>n</sup> Kindred speculations occur

in Aristotle, Top. iii. 2. *αἱ μὲν γὰρ αἰεὶ, ἡ δὲ ποτὲ χρησίμη κ. τ. λ.* Polit. vii. 15. Plato, Rep. vii. 4. Gorg. §. 170. Schol. ad Pind. Olymp. ii. 123. Eustathius ad Odyss. p. 1509. l. 40. Löwe, ibid. p. 216. and Heyne, Opusc. i. p. 395. sq. Hemsterh. ad Lucian. Catapl. §. 23. may also be referred to for information about the heathen notions of the *μακάρων νησοί*.

there will not be any at all: much less that there will be no need of that frame of mind or character formed by the daily practice of them<sup>o</sup>. It may be added, that habits really preserve their identity, though from the different subject-matter upon which they are exercised, they appear not to have done so. Thus the accurate study of the Classics creates in the mind a habit of attention to details, which habit once formed may be numerically one with a habit which, because applied to the business of after-life, it appears to have nothing to do. And this appears to me to be the clue to an answer to what is said of those habits in relation to the arts above noticed, which seem incapable of having any issue in a future existence. The infusion of some such a habit into Besaleel, that he might work at the tabernacle, was a gift of God; and if the gifts of God are without repentance<sup>p</sup>, this too must be conceived to remain in some way, however hard we may find it to assign the particular way. Nyssen indeed has ingeniously used this against the Apollinarians<sup>q</sup>, to shew that a created spirit might have wisdom infused into it at once; and that therefore their argument, for the needlessness of a human soul in Christ, fell to the ground: but it is obviously fair to argue from the unfailing and irrevocable nature of a divinely infused habit, for which we see no issue, to the probability of some issue existing for laboriously acquired habits in spheres of action, which we can neither calculate upon, nor conceive. Only the circumstances in

<sup>o</sup> August. de Trin. xiv. 12. in Psalm (a book Butler quotes) lxxiii. §. 11. Epist. 155. §. 12. Butler, Anal. i. 5. p. 128.

<sup>p</sup> Vide Athan. c. Arian. iii. §. 25.

<sup>q</sup> Antirrhet. §. 39. Apollinaris's argument is this, If one gets more than another, it must be by use and exercise: but *there was no use &c. in Christ, ergo, there was no human mind.*

which the habits act may be so completely different, that we could not with our present faculties perceive the identity of the habit.

15. However this may be, in regard to habits relating to the arts and sciences, a question of small importance. For as good men make their common actions and the very traffic in this world's necessities an occasion of virtuous action, the principal habit such occasions form in them is a moral, not an intellectual, one. And though this is pretermittting altogether the intellectual habit, which, though inferior, is yet there, still it is of some consequence to make this observation. For it is possible, that in a perfect sample of our nature, such as was Christ, each act of an art may have been done of set purpose, so much as an intense act of dutifulness towards Joseph and Mary, that the habit of art was 'too small and insignificant for sight:' we might as well expect to be able to decide what came of any habit of respect for Judas which our Lord had for a time. It is certainly of much greater practical consequence to us to consider, what becomes of any lastingly exercised moral habits which our Lord had upon earth: for every thing goes to shew, that "permanency does not attach so much to any human acts as to those which relate to the virtues, inasmuch as they seem to be more abiding than even the sciences".

16. Such habits then, as the compassionateness of our Lord is, claim our special attention as moral agents; and most who call themselves Christians suppose this habit, formed in the days of his flesh towards our race, remains and operates in the days of his glory. In a parallel way of reasoning, we have a right to demand what has gone of that habit of

<sup>r</sup> Aristot. Eth. Nic. i. 11.



filial obedience formed towards Mary in the flesh? If you can prove by revelation, as you can of faith and hope, that it is utterly and entirely obliterated, and of no use in any of its outgoings, then we give in; but until you can do so, we shall endeavour in the sequel to prove, that it was of some use to have considered here that experimental knowledge, which is at the root of all habits, in the popular sense of the word habits. At all events, such a mode of arguing ought not to go for nothing, where the great Butler is received and admired; unless without the help of experimental knowledge you can give some *positive* meaning to passages which speak of Christ ‘growing in grace,’ ‘learning obedience,’ and the like—such a meaning, be it observed, as will not sanction Nestorianism in the way above indicated.

17. What is here meant may be further illustrated by reference to one or two other cognate subjects. Thus Christ presents his flesh as a continual sacrifice to the eternal Trinity for us: it might have been conceived, that it was enough to have shewn that identical body in which he suffered, and unnecessary to be (if the expression may be allowed) so particular, as to keep the scars of the wounds in that flesh. But the reverse is held to have been the case: Christ retains the marks, even though the need of proving his identity has passed away: and he retains them for some special object. Now in a parallel manner, if the need of experimental knowledge has passed away, the habits resulting from it may yet be remaining: though the soul of Christ has compassion, and all else that belongs to the human nature by virtue of its union with God, there is no reason why the habit gained by the distinct process of experimental knowledge should not remain also. “Suarez indeed

thinks that Christ did not by use and exercise increase any habit of moral virtue, because, from the first he had them all, in a heroic degree, to which single acts could not add any thing. . . . But neither he *nor any body else* can deny, that from these very acts there were left *new* ideas experimentally gained, by which Christ knew that he had practised himself in acts of mercy, for instance, and had experienced the greatest delight in so practising himself. Now this experience was a new motive inclining to acts of mercy, and not, for instance, to temperance; whence it appears that Christ might by practice have a greater facility in one kind of virtue than another. This then I call a habit; though Christ then from the beginning of the use of reason received a facility for all the virtues infused per accidens as his state of life and age required, still he was able by experience to have a new facility towards the objects of those virtues\*." And this habit so acquired may still remain, though there is another channel by which Christ has his compassionateness to us-wards. As he did not heal up his wounds in such a way as to obliterate the scars, from love not from want of medicinable skill to do so: so he still may retain the habits acquired upon earth, though he has them also from an independent source. And St. Paul is plainly speaking in the Epistle to the Hebrews of habits *retained* in heaven, so that it cannot be said, that the admission that Christ gained such habits, will not prove that he keeps them now.

18. This is further illustrated by the belief in tutelary saints, which has been universally held in the Church. Such a belief implies, that the saints retain habits of affection towards the particular

\* Lugo, de Incarn. Disp. xxi. §. 1. no. 16.

places, studies, virtues, devotions, and religions, for which they had an attachment while upon earth. It would be as idle to say this is a piece of paganism imported into the Church, as it would be to say, that the belief in future punishment is an importation of that nature. Both the one and the other are parts of natural religion. To suppose St. John up to his dying day to take the greatest interest in chastity, and to be willing as long as he was upon earth to assist any body who had to acquire that virtue; but to lose this willingness directly he got into the presence of God; is so strange a perversion, or rather so utter an annihilation of every principle laid down by Butler in treating of habits, that no one would maintain it but an atheist. And what may be said of one virtue may be said of another. To imagine again that St. Cyril takes no more interest now in the doctrine of the Incarnation, and those who study it, than St. Justin Martyr; or St. Augustine in those who study the doctrine of grace than St. Cecilia; is too ridiculous a rejection of the doctrine of habits to be maintained by any one capable of sober reflection. And the same with certain alterations and limitations might be said of the other things just mentioned. Dives, as a modern Socinian, might be full of natural benevolence to those about him, and he kept that benevolence in hell: are the saints to lose the virtuous habits they have formed, or the affection to certain mysteries they have had on earth, because they are gone to heaven? Has St. Augustine no more interest in the clients of St. Monica as such, than in those of St. Theresa? But "this way of putting things plainly supposes" the habits of the saints "to remain even in a future state." What we see in the saints, that we may use as a help towards knowing what is the case in the Saint of saints.

## CHAP. XVI.

THE PATRISTIC DENIAL NOT OPPOSED TO THE SCHOLASTIC ASSERTION  
OF GROWTH IN GRACE AND WISDOM IN CHRIST.

1. WE see then that there is an intelligible difference between infused habits and habits acquired through trials, between infused and experimental knowledge. If a capacity for forming habits be part of human nature, and our Lord took that nature with all its unblameable passions and affections, then we may assume that he took this capacity likewise. That it would be in several respects modified in him, who though man, was also God, is manifest; yet still it remained in substance what it is in us. Some of those things which we acquire by habit, he gained the habit of also: but there is this difference, that in us no other kind of information precedes the information acquired by habit, whereas the habit which Christ acquired did not inform his soul, but added a new kind of evidence to its pre-existing plenary information upon all things. As things mathematically demonstrated do not need experimental proof, yet admit it, so information the result of the infused knowledge did not need, though it admitted the addition of experimental knowledge. With this before us, it will be tolerably intelligible that such ascription of advance to Christ as is intended to disprove the existence of that plenary information, savours strongly of heresy, whereas the scholastic doctrine of experimental knowledge leaves the former

privilege intact, and has nothing to do with it. The animus of the two parties, viz. of the ancient favourers of Nestorius, and of the schoolmen, is perfectly different: the former used the same texts as the latter, but the former used them in order to establish a severalty of persons, the latter to prove the reality of the human nature. This latter object is precisely the same as the Antinestorian writers have, though they are content for the most part to speak, as if the advances which Christ made were only in appearance, and not in any sense really commensurate with the growth of his body. Theodoret, who was a decided heretic at one time of his life, shall now be cited, and the careful reader will see, that the use he makes of the texts alluded to, is to prove virtually what his party in words denied, that there were two Christs. The Nestorian Christ is in some respects like the Catholic Virgin Mary, in whom the two whole and perfect natures are never to be divided, although they never became one person. Mary remains a creature in spite of God's relation to her; but Catholics, as has been observed above, do not use to call Christ a creature, though he took a created nature, because it subsists only in the Creator, and is part of his Person. This premised, let us now proceed to quote the tenth Anathema of St. Cyril, Theodoret's refutation of it, and St. Cyril's reply.

2. Anath. X. The Scripture says, that Christ was made the High Priest and Apostle of our confession<sup>a</sup>, and offered himself for a smell of sweetness to God the Father<sup>b</sup>. If therefore any one says, that it is not the Word of God himself, when he had become flesh and was man like us, who was our High Priest and Apostle, but a man by himself, from woman,

<sup>a</sup> Heb. iii. 1.

<sup>b</sup> Ephes. v. 2.

which man is as it were other than him; or if any one says, that he offered the offering for himself too, and not on the contrary *only for us*, when he that knew no sin would want no offering: let him be anathema.

#### THEODORET'S REFUTATION.

3. "The unchangeable nature of God was not changed into the nature of flesh, but took upon him a human nature, and set it above the other high priests<sup>c</sup>, as the blessed Paul teaches us when he says, For every high priest, taken from among men, is set over men in the things relating to God, that he may offer up gifts and sacrifices for sins, who can have consideration for those that are ignorant and err; because he himself also is compassed with infirmity, and by reason of it he ought, as for the people, *so also for himself*, to offer for sins<sup>d</sup>. And a little after to explain this he says: As Aaron was, so also was Christ. And then, to shew the weakness of the assumed nature, he says, Who in the days of his flesh, with strong cries and tears having offered supplications and prayers, and having been heard owing to his reverence, although he were a Son, yet learnt, from the things that he suffered, obedience; and having been consummated, he became to all that obey him the cause of eternal salvation, having been called by God a High Priest, according to the order of Melchizedec. *Who* then was it that was consummated by the toils of virtue, not being by nature consummate? *Who* was it that by trial learnt obedience, which before the trial he

<sup>c</sup> I have rendered from the Greek, thinking Theodoret meant to take the *ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων καθίσταται* in nearly the same sense as *ὑπὲρ ἀρχιερέας κατέστη-*

*σεν*, though the genitive more commonly means in behalf of. See p. 332.

<sup>d</sup> Heb. v. 1—3.

did not know? [*Who* that did not know the day and hour\*?] *Who* that passed his life in reverence, and with strong crying and with tears offers the supplications, and is not able<sup>f</sup> to save himself, but calls upon him who is able to save him, and begs for liberation from death? Not God the Word, the impassible, the immortal, the incorporeal, the recollection of whom, according to the Prophet, is joy and liberation from tears; for he took away the tears from every face. And again the Prophet says; I remembered God and rejoiced, who crowneth those that live in reverence, who knoweth all things before their birth, who has all that the Father has<sup>g</sup>, and is the unchangeable image of the Father, who shews the Father in himself—but that which was taken by him from the seed of David the mortal, the passible, which feared death, even although this did loose the power of death afterwards, through its union with the God, who took it; which went through the whole course of justice; which said to John, Suffer it to be so now, for so it becometh us to fulfil all justice: this was what received the title of High Priest according to the order of Melchizedek, for it

\* Added from what he says against the fourth Anathema. Vide Hard. iii. p. 134. e. where this is adduced against him by the Fifth Council.

<sup>f</sup> The same passage was used by Felix of Urgela, ap. Paulin. i. 31. and was used from the first by the Nestorian party, as appears from Dialog. 696. e. p. 754-5. Nest. p. 134. where the text *Θεέ μου Θεέ μου* is added. The Nestorians used the text, as if Christ was *obliged* to pray for himself, as did Felix. See Paulin. c. Fel. i. 29. who thus states the Catholic view of

the matter: Orabat quasi verus homo, pro hominibus, sed potestatis insigni, non necessitatis dehonestate. cf. 56 fin. ii. 4. iii. 4. 5. Alcuin. c. Fel. lib. i. p. 796. d. vi. p. 869 sq.

<sup>g</sup> Ps. xv. 11. Isai. xxv. 8. Ps. lxxvi. 3. Dan. i. 22. John xvi. 15. Theodoret's quotations are luckless ones, as they are several of them texts which speak of God incarnate. The passage of Isaiah is a celebrated prophecy of the Eucharist. Some of them I cannot verify; probably they come from Symmachus.

was this which was compassed with the infirmity of nature and not God the Word, who was able to do all things. Wherefore also a little before the blessed Paul saith: for we have not a High Priest who cannot sympathize with our infirmities, but one tried in all things, and that like as we are, sin excepted. Now it was the nature which was taken from us for our sakes, that underwent the trial of our sufferings without sin, *not he* who took this nature for our salvation. And at the beginning of this chapter<sup>h</sup>, he teaches something like this when he says, Consider the Apostle and High Priest of our confession, Jesus, who is faithful to him that *made*<sup>i</sup> him, as also Moses was in all his house. Now no one who cared for orthodoxy would call the uncreate unmade God the Word, who is co-eternal with the Father, a creature; but HIM *who* was of the seed of David, who being free from all sin, became our priest and sacrifice. It is *he* that offered himself for us to God, having in himself clearly God the Word of God, who was united with *him*, and joined so as never to be divided."

4. Kind-hearted persons might possibly try to excuse this, if it had come from a less learned and less suspected writer: but it pretty plainly conceives Christ as two persons, a creature and a Creator, and clearly denies that the Word was both high priest and victim, whereas the grandeur of our redemption lies in this, that God did not spare his own Son, but fitted to him a body capable of suffering. It also represents Christ as *obliged* to suffer, and obliged to pray for deliverance, not as almightily infirm, so to

<sup>h</sup> In chap. iii. The divisions at that time were different.

<sup>i</sup> This will remind the learned reader of Eunomius's use of

Acts ii. 36. ap. Gr. Nyssen. ii. p. 575. to prove the Son was a creature.



say, at his own discretion, nor as all along taking to himself our weaknesses by a divine condescension, but as necessitated, after he once was man, to undergo them by an enforced obedience. It so dwells upon the nature that was created, as to sever it from the person of the Creator with which it was one. But let us see how the Samuel of Alexandria hews this passage in pieces before the Lord.

THE ANSWER OF CYRIL.

5. "The prophet Jeremy, when Israel offended and whetted the wrath of the God of all against him, mourning over them, says, Who shall give water to my head, and to mine eyes a fount of tears, and I will weep over this people day and night. And I think these words are not so much suited to them as to those that have a mouth, "whose door is open, whose restraint<sup>j</sup> is none" against Christ, who vent their trifling even against the unutterable glory, being bold and self-willed men, as the Scripture says. Lamentation and groaning do they deserve in very deed, who from their downright stolidity have left the straightforward irreproachable path of orthodoxy to Christward, and are making perverse by-paths, and by corrupt inventions of their own ideas disfiguring the beauty of the truth. They shall be told then as they have chosen sentiments eschewed by all, You do err, not knowing the Scriptures, nor the venerable and great mystery of the Incarnation. For the inspired Scriptures teach us, that Immanuel is God incarnate: they asseverate that the Word of God the Father partook of flesh and blood as we do, and

<sup>j</sup> "ἔχοντ' . . . ἀκρατες ἀπύλωτον στόμα. Aristoph. Ran. 838. a expression, which occurs below, is an expression of the same author's.  
ὁ χρησὸς οὔτοσι, another favourite

became flesh, that is, man, not by any turning or alteration, but by the power of a union unspeakable. This then is how we come to say that there is one Lord Jesus Christ, one faith, one only baptism. But those that are departing from such orthodox sentiments, and set up their stiff and proud mind against the sacred Scriptures, look to what seems right to themselves only, and say that a man was taken by God the Word—I suppose in the sense in which it is said of one of the holy prophets, I was not a prophet, nor the son of a prophet, but a goat-herd that rubbed the sycamines, and the Lord *took* me from the sheep; or, as the blessed David says, the Lord *taketh* up the meek, by relation, that is, and by spiritual kinship in the will as it were and in grace and in holiness, just as we ourselves are joined to the Lord, and are one spirit, as Scripture says. But this is not for God to become incarnate, or to partake of flesh and blood as we do, but it is rather to make a man his own, and that no otherwise, than it may be said that he does the prophets and apostles and all the other saints. Did then the inspired Paul put a cheat upon those that were sanctified by faith, when he says most clearly of the Only-begotten, that being rich he became poor for us? God forbid! assuredly the herald of the Truth speaks true. But who the rich is, and how he became poor, let us next go on to examine<sup>k</sup>. For if, as you dared to think and maintain too, a man was taken up by God, how did he become poor, who was taken up and had a brilliancy of honour given him beyond his nature? Now glorified he was, since if that were not so, the taking up will be by themselves depreciated, as having brought him down to the inferior and less glorious estate of

<sup>k</sup> Comp. what is said against the Arians above, p. 201-2.

humanity. But this it were grating to hold, and so it was not he who was taken that became poor. Well, then we have no alternative but to say, that he who as God is rich, came into poverty like ours. How then did he become poor? Come then, do, let us look into this as it requires. That he is unchangeable by nature, we agree: he did not leave his own nature and pass into that of the flesh, for he remained what he was, that is, God. In what then do we see the abject state of poverty? Is it by his taking some one of us, as the hangers on of Nestorius's blasphemy have brought themselves to say? And what would be the manner of his poverty and exinanition, to honour forsooth some man like us, as he could by a mere act of his will? for the God of all is nothing harmed by doing good. In what sense then did he become poor? Because he, though being by nature God, and Son of God the Father, became man, and was born of the seed of David after the flesh, and underwent a slave-like, i. e. a human, condition, being in the form of God the Father. And having become man, he is not ashamed of the condition of humanity; for he who eschewed not the becoming like us itself, how should he decline taking those things, which let us see he had really become like us for our sakes. When therefore we make him stand aloof from human actions or words, we shall differ in no respect from those who, if it were possible, would all but strip him of his flesh, and do not believe inspired Scripture, and turn utterly upside down the mystery of the Incarnation, the salvation of the world, its hope, its resurrection. But perhaps some one will say, it would be little and utterly unseemly for God the Word to weep, and to fear death, and to decline the chalice, or to meddle with

a priesthood. So would I say also myself: such things for the divine and most high nature and glory are little; but these are just the things in which we see the poverty which he willingly endured for our sakes. When the ingloriousness of the exinanition appears vile to you, then wonder the more at the Son's love to us. For that which you say is little, he made an object of desire for your sake: he wept as a man, that he might keep your tears from starting: he felt fear, economically *allowing* his flesh at times to feel the sufferings natural to it, that he might make us full of courage: he declined the cup, that the cross might make the Jews stand guilty of blasphemy: he is said to be weak like human nature, to make your weakness cease: he made prayers and supplications, that he might render the audience of the Father accessible to you: he slumbered, that you might learn not to slumber in temptations, but rather give yourself vigorously to prayer: and when some of the Apostles slumbered, he reproached them, and said, Watch and pray, that you enter not into temptation. For having set up his own conduct as a pattern of religious conversation, to benefit all beneath the sky, he made the infirmities of humanity his own. And why did he do so? but that it might be believed that he really had become man, although he remained what he was, that is, God. But how those who pretend that they say, there is one Christ and Son and Lord, who is at once God and man, deny that the Word, who sprung from God, is called the High Priest and Apostle of our confession when he had become man, is more than I can tell; for they insist upon it, that he who was of the seed of David, as if another man, was called to this dignity, afraid, I suppose, lest they should, by de-

spising Nestorius's heterodoxy, be detected in being orthodox! For that man said as follows: This is the one faithful to God, who was made High Priest: seeing it was this one who *became* so, not *was* so eternally before—this one, you heretic, I mean, who advanced little by little to the dignity of High Priest.' Then to stablsh as a truth his own words as he fancies, he goes on to say, 'Concerning whom John<sup>1</sup> says in the Gospel, Jesus advanced in age and wisdom and grace.' And again: This man alone being our High Priest compassionate, akin to us, and sure, be ye not turned aside from faith in him. For it was he who was sent to us in consequence of a blessing having been promised to us of the seed of Abraham, as one who should offer the sacrifice of his body, as well for himself as for his race.' Now this capital mimic of that fellow's disgusting stuff, this hopeful Theodore<sup>m</sup> here does not blush to say, he took a human nature, and set this above other high priests, as St. Paul says: For every high priest taken from among men is set over men, &c. Has he not then made out our Emmanuel, so far as his own sentiment goes, to be a common man? Are not his ideas twin brothers of those which we have just referred to, and are they not pregnant with the same blasphemy? Were you afraid, tell me, that the priesthood should belong to Jesus Christ the Saviour of us all? Say you, that it is unbecoming for God the Word to act as priest in his human nature through the economy? Off then with the mask, deny without shuffling that incarnation of the Word, through which he is even called high priest! Do you then

<sup>1</sup> This is one of the many i. p. 68.  
 proofs of Nestorius's ignorance. Vide Garnier ad Merc. <sup>m</sup> ὁ χρηστὸς οὐτοσι, ex init. Nubium.

see him sacrificing as to another God, and to a God that is above him, the Father! Have you beheld him slaughtering oxen, like those that were taken from among men, and were able to be considerate for those that are ignorant, and err because they also were in the same infirmities with us. Do you not perceive, that he consecrates the faith of all, that is, the confession of the faith, to himself and to the all-holy Spirit<sup>a</sup>? Tell me then, is it any sort of human ministry to demand faith of those who have offered themselves in the Spirit for a sweet-smelling savour? But see that in other respects he is God, even if in his human nature he be said to act as priest owing to the economy; for he sits along with God the Father, and is seen in glory upon the throne of the Most High. Does his humanity disturb you? How is it that his divinity does not free you from fears? You cannot bear from the realities themselves to see that Emmanuel is God and man at the same time, but thus shamelessly and harshly, not to say thus out-running every impiety that is, you say he was consummated in virtue by labours, and advanced little by little to the dignity of the high priest<sup>o</sup>. If he advanced, how was he emptied, how did he become poor? if he was perfected in virtue, it must have

<sup>a</sup> The Latin has *Patri*. I suspect we should read *καὶ ἑαυτῷ καὶ τῷ π. Πν.* to himself also and to the all-holy Spirit, i. e. to them as well as to the Father. The phrase *πανάγιος Πν.* occurs in the oblation of the Greek Liturgies, *Assem. Cod. Liturg.* v. p. 28. *Renaudot. Coll. Lit. Or.* i. p. 105. The meaning of St. Cyril's argument is to be learnt by remembering that

Christ is said to be High Priest of our confession, i. e. is represented as continually offering to the Father *our* faith. Such an oblation would do himself no good, and therefore the Nestorian party, idly urge the word, '*made* him,' taken from the passage, *Heb.* iii. 1, 2.

<sup>o</sup> This is taken from Mop-suestene. See above, cap. iii. §. 7, 8. *Hard.* iii. p. 39. d.

been from having been imperfect, and so he became perfect in time. Now all that is imperfect in virtue, is subject to blame, and what is subject to blame, is under sin<sup>p</sup>. How then is it written concerning him, that he did no sin? You have brought yourself to say the words which follow. ‘*Who* was it then that was high priest? *Who* that was consummated by the toils of virtue not being by nature consummate? *Who* that learns by trial that obedience, which before the trial he did not know? *Who* that lived in reverence, and with strong crying and tears, offered supplications, and is not able to save himself, but calls upon him that is able to save him?’ O language most audacious and most foul! What tears shall be enough to wash away the sin of those who choose to hold such sentiments as these! If you receive the union, how come you not to know that you were speaking of God made man? He humbled himself for you, and you impiously cry out, Lord, be it far from thee! this shall not be to thee! Therefore you shall hear him say, Go behind me, Satan, thou art a scandal unto me!—Yet at the close of his remarks he says, ‘The High Priest of the seed of David, having in himself plainly the Word of God united to him, and joined so as never to be divided<sup>q</sup>.’ In what

<sup>p</sup> Perhaps Cyril is here reasoning on the heathen hypothesis, that he who has one virtue has all: for heathen St. Austin, Epist. 167. §. 10. and St. Jerome, c. Pelag. i. 19. say it is. But as this hypothesis is untrue of any one in the state of a viator, so it is true of a comprehensor. Theodoret’s argument goes to deny, that our Lord was the latter as well as the former. In this view

Cyril’s reasoning (which has occurred also above, p. 226. n. q.) is intelligible, if we suppose that he regards the doing no sin not as a fact merely, but as implying a doctrine, viz. that Christ was impeccable. Petavius has, I think, somewhere commented on these words, but I am unable to verify my reference.

<sup>q</sup> This may be quite Nestorian language: for Nestorius

sense then do you say that the Word of God was united with him who is of the seed of David? Have you really set the priesthood apart for him only who is of David's seed? For if the union be real, then surely we are not to understand two, but one only Christ, from both. It is quite plain then that they confess the union in pretence only, in order to creep into the minds of simple folk, but understand by it a conjunction from without, and by way of relation such as we also have, being made partakers of his holy nature by the Spirit."

6. St. Cyril's indignant eloquence is here armed against the subtle evasions of a party, who throughout aimed at making two Christs, and asserting they had but one. To do this more effectually, they made use of the Greek word *Prosopon*, or *Parsupa*, (as the Syrianized form of it was,) to express the oneness of person in their Christ; as it expressed only a moral or relational union, not as the word *hypostasis*, a natural union. Of this evasion, Theodoret, like the rest of the Nestorian party, every where availed himself. Justice was of old represented as blind: but charity itself must deserve to be so represented, if it can think Theodoret else than a heretic<sup>r</sup>, when he wrote the above passages. But the

did not differ from the Church as to the *duration* of the union of God and man in Christ, but as to the *kind* of union. Vide Garn. ad Merc. ii. p. 286. sq. and diss. de fide Theodoret, Auct. p. 464. and p. 240.

<sup>r</sup> Garnier ad Auctar. Theodoret. p. 462. Ejusdem blasphemix atque adeo consensionis cum Nestorio Theodoretum accusarunt S. Cyrillus, Marius Mercator, Vigilius Papa,

V. Synodus cum Vita et VIIma, Pelagius II, Gregorius Magnus, posteriores Synodo VIta summi Pontifices plurimi, ipsemet Theodoretus, ipsi *etiam* a quibus maxime defendi laudarique aut saltem excusari creditur, Leo Magnus, Maximus Antiochenus, quarta Synodus [extra Synodum, see above, p. 76. f.] Liberatus, Photius, Joannes Euchaita, Agobardus et Baronius." The Ballerini, on Leo's Epistle



whole tone of the passage above quoted, would lead one most naturally to think when without this information, that he argued from the passages of the Hebrews to prove that the Sacrifice became perfect by degrees as did the High Priest. This, of course, would be ascribing to the humanity alone the Priesthood, and so making a separate subsistency holy from the first, and always increasing in holiness, but not perfect at first. Christ's experimental knowledge is used by Theodoret for an heretical object; viz. to disprove the existence of infused knowledge. It is itself spoken of in an heretical sense, that is, as if it was symptomatic of the whole state of Christ's soul, and not of a part of that state only, as if it told against the hypostatic union, and not for the reality of the human nature only. Hence St. Cyril parallels his arguments from the Hebrews with those of Nestorius from St. Luke. If the soul of Christ really was imperfect from within, and could become perfect, then it needed a sacrifice like others. St. Cyril, on the contrary, abominates a theory, which while it spoke of the human nature as a separated person, idly pretended to hold that union, which alone could originate merit in man. Hence it is plain, that the ancient heretical assertion of Christ's experimental knowledge was neither of the same kind, nor had the same end in view, as the modern orthodox assertion of that doctrine, but put Christ under temptation with as

120, throw out some doubts as to its genuineness. If Leo be removed from his excusers, there will be no one of such very great weight for judgment among his defenders. Photius is a heretic, and Liberatus no great way from it, as was Fa-cundus, whom G. omits. It is

needless to add, that I have too much love for St. Cyril myself, to have much love for Theodoret. Learned as he was, one might feel to him, as Cyril says [ad Regin. p. 121.] St. Paul felt, 'ready to anathematize even the Angels,' if they departed from the true doctrine.

different an object in view as God and Satan have when they bring men into temptation. By this, however, let it be repeated here, it is not meant to deny that there are passages in orthodox writers which approximate to the modern doctrine, as, for instance, when St. Ephrem speaks of the 'silence' of the Infant Jesus, or St. Fulgentius speaks of our Lord learning to talk of his Mother, i. e. learning something for the doing of which bodily organs must be in a certain state. But I do not think any fair person will doubt of Petavius's assertion, that these passages are vague and uncertain.

7. A few words now will suffice to explain these passages by the modern principle, after what has been already urged. In fact, St. Cyril's principle, that our Lord proportioned the display of his wisdom and grace to the age of his flesh, when dwelt upon and expanded, will be found to involve what for distinction's sake I have called the modern principle. The use of the senses depends with us upon the growth of the organs that answer to them: we collect facts through them, and generalize upon these facts: we do acts of obedience through them, and form habits through the repetition of such acts. The schoolmen hold, that such generalization went on in our Lord's soul, and produced a purely human knowledge which was by degrees collected and laid at the feet of an already existing infused knowledge, of the existence of which none\* of them doubt. For those who will patiently use these distinctions, this may furnish a *positive* explanation of such passages as 'he learned obedience,' or, 'he advanced in wisdom and grace.'

\* Lugo, Disp. xxi. §. 1. no. 5. *post resurrectionem, excepta Christus habuit ratione beatitudinis, quicquid beati habebant* *impassibilitate, ut sæpe diximus.*

It is quite possible that some may think the patristic way of regarding these passages, as referring to the prudently regulated outward display of habits already existing inwardly, is at once more intelligible and more satisfactory. There are so many passages in which we know that our Lord did and said things in order to seem like other men, so many examples of the Saints following him in this, and so much in the reasonableness of such conduct in itself, that it is not worth while, they may think, entering into such nice distinctions<sup>1</sup> in this volume. All Catholics agree, that his soul enjoyed the fulness of grace and wisdom even in the womb, and that it had the beatific vision; “nor is there,” says Petavius, “now-a-days, any one *so illiterate and ignorant*, who could not, if he has any idea what Christ is, affirm, upon being questioned, that he had that vision.”

8. If, however, any person avoids throwing himself into a system which he fancies would not be in accordance with the patristic or dogmatic theology, followed for the most part in this work, let it not be supposed that any one will do well to close his eyes to the advantages of that system. A theory which will explain a great many facts is always deserving of attention, not to say that it commands it. The learning of obedience and compassion are not the only facts explained by this theory, nor else than very important facts, if they were. It seems, however, as if the suspension of Christ's powers of observation during sleep proved incontestably the necessity of some such theory, and shewed that there was a sort of knowledge which he acquired by, and not

<sup>1</sup> Lugo makes several distinctions in the kinds of science in Christ's soul, which have not been thought necessary to introduce here. See Disp. xix—xxi.

without, his senses. Passages of this sort then must be harmonized in some way with other passages, from which the belief in infused wisdom and the unity of Christ's Person results. And what is here said of texts of Scripture, may also be asserted of texts of the holy Fathers. The careful reader will anticipate, that this discussion upon the experimental knowledge of Christ, and the habits which result from it, has something to do with the settling of a question before touched upon, namely, whether Christ has any present capacity for Dulia. The object of this chapter has been to shew, that the patristic doctrine leaves it quite open to us, to say the very least, to hold the scholastic or modern principle of experimental knowledge in Christ. The second part of this work will bring our blessed Saviour before the reader while he was amassing that knowledge, and the habits consequent upon it. The settlement of the question, just mentioned again here, will not come in till the end of the third part.

9. This portion of the work then is brought to a close. Its object has been to shew, that the Mother of God had, from the first instant of his conception, a Son amply capable to confer graces and knowledge upon her. It has been shewn how Nestorius, by denying her that title, mightily helped the cause of human merit. A number of coincidences between the leaders of the heresies on both these points, and also between the doctors of grace and the Incarnation, have been pointed out. The adorableness of that flesh in which Christ himself condescended to adore, has been also treated of. Several apparent difficulties against the doctrine of the Church as to Christ's fulness of grace and wisdom have been also handled, more particularly the celebrated text, in St. Mark, who is the Evan-

gelist that deals most in Christ's human infirmities. A most useful distinction of the schoolmen has been likewise noticed. I desire the reader now to consider honestly and with prayer, whether a sufficient moral proof of Christ's fulness of grace and wisdom from the first has not been put before him. Let him as a sinful creature, who has nothing to rely on but Christ's merits, no judge to expect but Christ, meditate adoringly upon the Word made flesh. Let him try, with the gentleness of a little child and the understanding of a man, to consider what manner of Child that was whom the Mother of God conceived of the Holy Ghost. If he is sharp-witted at finding objections, and unwilling to consider the effect of all that has been put before him as a whole, if he will wait till every craving of the intellect is satisfied before he will act as a reasonable and accountable moral agent; it may be that he will fail either to understand like a man, or to enter the kingdom of heaven as a little child. If he would be a Catholic, let him enter the womb of his Mother Mary, and be born.

## PART THE SECOND.

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### THE INFLUENCE OF THE INCARNATION ON THE BLESSED VIRGIN.

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*Εἰ τις οὐ Θεοτόκον τὴν Μαρίαν ὑπολαμβάνει, χωρὶς ἐστὶ τῆς Θεότητος.*

Greg. Naz. Or. 51. p. 738. d.



## CHAP. I.

### THE ANNUNCIATION, AND MIRACULOUS CONCEPTION OF OUR BLESSED LORD.

1. THERE exists in the Church a certain devotion called the Rosary, of the nature and object of which protestants in general are at least as ignorant, as they are of the tantrams of the Indians. They 'know' that both are something or other superstitious, and that is all they know, when they have heard of them at all. Now it may not be out of place to inform them here, what the nature and object of the Rosary is, as most of the mysteries it deals with will not only form the principal places in the country we are about to go through, but will also help us in selecting points for reflection from among the many topics, to which contemplation upon the intercourse of our Lord with his Mother would naturally give rise. The Rosary then consists of fifteen mysteries, which are to be contemplated by the person who says it: five of which are usually said at a time. While each mystery is being contemplated, one Our Father, ten Hail Maries, and one Gloria Patri are said. This serves to mark out a certain time for each mystery: it is no use whatever to gabble over these prayers without either attention, or, at least, the attempt to attend<sup>a</sup>,

\* As the holy See has encouraged the recital of the Rosary by attaching many indulgences to it, it may be useful to inform the protestant reader, that in order to gain them, si richiede . . . que nel recitare il S. Rosario si *vada*



although there are many worse ways of spending time than this, ways perhaps indulged in by those most loud against the really superstitious notion, that five dozen of mixed prayers said with no attention have any intrinsic merit in them. Of course, things of no intrinsic merit may derive a merit extrinsic to themselves from the end for which they are done, as from obedience, from a desire to do like other Catholics, or a wish to keep out of harm's way. This however we need not trouble ourselves with in this place. It is more to the purpose to observe how prominent a part in the Rosary the Ave Marias form. By repeating this prayer, we aim at joining ourselves heart and soul with our Lady, and try to contemplate the mysteries with *her* eyes. It is certain that nobody ever had so great opportunities for using all the natural means of understanding the mysteries as the Blessed Virgin had, and that if we could see and know how she felt and thought at all that happened to our Lord, we should be able to appreciate the mysteries as fully as any creature can do<sup>b</sup>. She could inquire about them at the fountain Head, not only with the affection, but with the authority of a Mother. As so many different points admit of being distinctly considered in each of the mysteries of the Rosary, they will serve as useful heads to reduce what we have to say under, or at least to collect such remarks

*riflettendo ai misteri della Nascita Passione, &c.*" to quote the authorized *Raccolte et Indulgenzi*, p. 141. ed. 1844. And Bened. xiii. in his Bull ap. Theod. a. S. Spiritu de Indulgent. ii. p. 316. gives the indulgences '*devote recitantibus*.' Pro-

testants imagine that the Rosary is a mere idle repetition: it is necessary to shew them, that when it is so, it is not what the Church encourages.

<sup>b</sup> Vide Gelasius, quoted above, p. 268.

around, as may not apply just to the very events embodied in the Rosary.

2. Catholics must be entreated to remember, that we are in this part of the work arguing upon the infinitely absurd supposition, that the Mother of our Creator and Saviour was nothing more than ‘a good woman.’ Hence, if remarks are omitted which seem naturally to be expected, or views of things taken which appear low and grovelling, it must be remembered that these defects arise from the absurd hypothesis upon which we are arguing, and will be made up in the third part of this work. We have considered what is involved in the admission, that the Word was made flesh, so far as our present exigencies require: we are now going on to consider what is involved in the admission, that he took that flesh not from the earth, or from any other source, but from a woman who became thereby his Mother; what in fact will result from admitting that Mary was a good woman, and had a Son, such as Jesus has been already described to be. Objections of all sorts may be raised of course against the conclusions come to in the first part: those conclusions in other words are not mathematical demonstrations; but moral certainties, which they would not be, if they did not admit of objections. Demonstration does not belong to the moral reasoner one whit more than persuasion to the mathematical<sup>c</sup>; and therefore the author is going to assume that those conclusions are sufficiently proved, and to take them for granted, having done what he can to clear them of such objections as may reasonably be urged against them. It should be added, for the sake of the Catholic

\* Παραπλήσιον φαίνεται μαθη-δέχεσθαι καὶ ῥητορικὸν ἀποδείξεις  
ματικῷ τε πιθανολογῶντος ἀπο-ἀπαιτεῖν. Arist. E. N. init.

reader, that the protestant does not derive his ideas of a good woman from the lives of the Saints; he has been brought up in utter ignorance of the great prodigies of God's grace, of whose existence the Church has satisfied herself by the most rigid and searching examination: he does not know what Christ has done for other women, and so cannot, by that natural love he has for his own parents, divine what God would have done for his Mother. Meditation, moreover, is a thing with which the most pious protestants, ordinarily speaking, are entirely unacquainted, except they may have derived it from Catholic works in some few instances. Hence, even if this book should succeed in making any thing as clear as light to a Catholic, he should not therefore be so forgetful of his own immeasurable advantages, as to become impatient, because he cannot make others understand, or weary of prayer to him who gave to himself understanding. 'For who distinguisheth thee? Or what hast thou, that thou hast not received? And if thou hast received, why dost thou glory as if thou hadst not received<sup>d</sup>?' *Fiunt, non nascuntur Christiani*°.

3. Let us proceed then patiently and charitably to examine the Annunciation and Conception of our blessed Saviour, which is the first mystery contemplated in the Rosary, and may easily be unfolded, so as to embrace a large number of interesting points. The angel Gabriel goes to a Virgin, and informs her of what is to happen. Hail, thou that hast been graced, he says, the Lord be with thee! Blessed art thou among women! This is the literal meaning of the Greek words. If the Catholic version, 'full of

<sup>d</sup> Cor. iv. 7.

tam. init.

° Hieron. Epist. vii. ad Læ-

grace,' in the eye of the critic, says too much, the Anglican, which gives, 'thou that art highly favoured,' says too little. For it would naturally lead the uninstructed to assume, that some high favour was *then* given; whereas the Greek word implies past action'. The Coptic and Syriac, and some other versions, agree with the Latin in rendering 'full of grace:' the honest reason to assign for this is, because they had no word which would express the Greek exactly, and so they rendered by a periphrasis. It is common with writers of the Latin Church to find great mysteries in the expression '*full of grace*,' which no sober critic would think of insisting upon to people out of the Church. If a Greek father had so explained the word, it might be said the interpretation was traditionary, but as the notion of insisting on the word '*plena*' originated with people ignorant of Greek, it is plainly nothing more than the invention of a man prepossessed with the idea of the Virgin's dignity. Such interpretations however, though of no value critically, are useful at least as shewing the feeling and opinion of the Church. Nor can more be fairly said to be contained in '*Dominus tecum*,' than a singular of '*Dominus vobiscum*:' i. e. it is the ordinary salutation to an individual person. It may be thought, that the sound critic will reject those interpretations which put more on words than they fairly mean as childish, and a sound theologian as useless, to those who are not

'A similar per-version occurs in John xiii. 10. where both the Anglican and Rhemish mis-render, 'He that *is* washed,' for 'He that has been washed,' needeth not but to wash his feet. i. e. Dust we must collect

in this life, but he who has been once baptized, has only this dust to wash away before communion. See St. Austin on the place. The Latin is, *qui lotus est*, the past tense. Jerome ad Esai. xlix. has '*qui semel lotus est*.'

obliged to go by the Bible only. The words shall be taken here<sup>g</sup>, then, to mean no more than what criticism must allow them. The Angel respectfully salutes the Virgin as one already possessed of several graces, and blessed among women, at least as much as Jahel the wife of Haber the Cinite, who destroyed the foe of God's people. For it is not unreasonable to think, that the Angel used these words of the Old Testament for some purpose. This being so, it will appear that God chose a woman already good for his Mother, and did not make her good by becoming her Son. Like Esther, she was anointed with many perfumes before the king came in to her. It is not easy to see, how much less than this can well be put upon the words of Scripture. The Angel next overcomes both the humility of the Virgin, by shewing, why she should be called blessed among women; and also another objection, drawn as we shall shew from her vow of virginity, by telling her that the Child was to be conceived in a supernatural way. He gives her a sign either to shew that nothing is impossible to God, or in order to put her humility more completely at rest. Upon this Mary consents to undertake the office assigned to her in the economy of our redemption. It should seem, that the conception of Christ immediately ensued.

4. There are among the Virgin's words some, which shew at once how the different ideas which a

<sup>g</sup> In the Third Part some further remarks on this passage will occur. The observation on *Dominus tecum* is taken from a shrewd German Dominican, Kraser, de Liturg. Occid. p. 399. who is certainly very unsparing upon 'veteres

avias' of all kinds. At present, the reader may be reminded of the different meaning of the common addresses, according as he is writing to a person he is on friendly terms with, or is intimate with.

Catholic and protestant have of a holy woman, interfere with all discussions of this nature as to the meaning of Scripture. The one has a prejudice in favour of vows and celibacy, the other a prejudice against them : of course, to judge fairly of God's revelation, we ought to have no prejudices, but such as God's teaching, either by the voice of conscience or by his Church, has implanted in us. Hence as all sorts of diabolical deceits may pass for the voice of conscience, and passions introduced by the devil may seem to have been created by God, there is need of a living Church to teach us, what prejudices we may lawfully bring to the interpretation of Scripture. With a prejudice in favour of vows and virginity, and against freedom and unnecessary use of the passions, the words of the Blessed Virgin, 'How can this be, seeing I know not a man?' plainly mean, How can this be, seeing I have vowed perpetual virginity? It would be idiotic to say, How can this be, seeing I am not married; but it is reasonable enough to say, How can this be, seeing I am under an obligation not to marry, or, at least, not to part with my virginity married or unmarried. It is as when the Pharisee says, 'I fast twice a week, I give tithes;' or when Laban says, 'This thing<sup>h</sup> is not done in this place' to express a habit they thought obligatory; or, as when we say, 'I do not ride,' for 'I cannot ride;' so our Lady said, 'I do not know a man,' for 'I cannot, I am prevented by a vow.' There was no more need to replenish the earth; the vow of Jephtha to devote his daughter to God had ceased to be odious to the Jews; Judith had been long since praised for her widowhood; and Anna was even then in the temple, as Holda the prophetess had been

<sup>h</sup> Gen. xxix. 26. לא יעשה and xxxiv. 7. of an unlawful act.

before her : Christ was coming, who from the perfection of his human nature could have had children<sup>i</sup> without the use of disorderly passions, but still chose virginity even then, that he might give to eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake a name better than of sons and daughters: and therefore it became him as man to be born of a Mother, who anticipated his kingdom by giving herself to God: it became him as God, who could do more in return<sup>j</sup>, to make her participate the blessings of the old covenant, by making himself to be her son. Thus the virginity which the Gospel counts blessed, and the maternity which the law honoured, met in her, who, to anticipate the former, had outstepped the latter. To a Catholic mind it would seem natural that it should be so: it is easy to man to believe whatever is likely in his own eyes; and so it is easy to a Catholic to believe this interpretation of Scripture, and to acknowledge that the humble Virgin pleaded her vow of virginity to the Angel, as a reason why she could not have a child by 'the pleasure that cometh of sleep'<sup>k</sup>. Learned protestants<sup>l</sup> have tried to find other meanings in the words, but to us they seem unfair and forced. Such meanings need not be considered here, as the use of this section is to shew, that when protestants allow the blessed Virgin to have been a good woman, they start with allowing much less than we should allow: it may also have its use in suggesting to some protestants, that either warranty may be found in Scripture for the Catholic belief about our Lady in

<sup>i</sup> August. Op. imp. iv. 49. 52. Jo. Damasc. de Duab. Volunt. §. 37. denies this, as do some other Greek writers: but even the denial of it tells in favour of celibacy.

<sup>j</sup> ἀντενεργητικός πλείωνων ὁ μεγαλόψυχος. Eth. Nic. iv. cap. 8.

<sup>k</sup> Wisd. vii. 2.

<sup>l</sup> See Trombelli Dissertt. de Beatâ, part i. ix. q. vii. chap. 1—4.

this and similar cases ; or else several parts of Scripture must be left without any reasonable meaning at all<sup>m</sup>.

5. But to return to our Saviour's conception: it is supposed commonly that curiosity is a passion more strongly felt by women than by men. A good woman plainly would not allow herself in curiosity about unholy things: but about the Holy thing conceived in her Mary might reasonably be curious. When St. Peter<sup>n</sup> tells us that the Angels desire to look into the things administered to us by the Prophets, he furnishes an example of what may be called a holy curiosity. Let us suppose then that our Lady was curious to know, what manner of Child it was that was to be born of her,—that human soul, through which the Son had become obedient to her, would know her thoughts and desires directly she conceived him. He was conscious from the first, and so capable of obeying his Mother's wishes. As a dutiful son, he would be bound to obey them, and not to avail himself of that ignorance of his capacities, which for argument's sake we suppose her to have laboured under, in order to elude obeying her. He foresaw, that making himself a Son,

<sup>m</sup> e. g. When St. Paul, 1 Tim. v. 11. condemns those who marry a second time, either second marriage must be wrong, or else there were even in those days such things as vows of virginity which *made* them wrong. "Apostolus non damnat hic viduas illas, quia posteaquam luxuriatæ fuerant, nubere voluerunt: id enim *laudandum* erit non vituperandum: sed quia nubere volentes primum fidem, *Deo* videlicet

datam, de servandâ continentia irritam faciebant. Et hoc modo hunc locum intellexerunt omnes interpp. Græci et Latini &c." Bellarm. de Sac. Matrimon. i. cap. 21. August. in Jo. tr. 97. §. 4. observes that monachism, like the belief in the consubstantiality of the divine Persons, existed long before the names afterwards used to express them.

<sup>n</sup> 1 Pet. i. 12.



would entail upon him the learning of obedience, and therefore he could not have had the excuse which some might make. He knew, that next to a desire to be happy, there is no desire implanted by him in our nature more strong than a desire to know; and that as bad people allow these desires to be disorderly, so good ones do not keep them from disorder by destroying them, but by directing them to a right end. It was a laudable desire which Mary, as a good person, must have felt to know all about her Son. If he knew her wishes then, he was bound to obey them.

6. It may be said, that to argue so, is to forget that he had a Father as well as a Mother, and that his Father may not have wished him to disclose the vision to any man until he was grown up. Now the Father's will is the Son's will<sup>o</sup> and the Holy Ghost's will: there is but one will in the Trinity. The objection then supposes that it may have been against the Divine will for Mary to know who Christ was. Her Son may have willed that she should be ignorant about him, as he willed Abram to leave home not knowing whither he was going. It may be added too, that we cannot say, if we look to Christ's human will, that this would be unfilial conduct, as it would be a manifest fallacy to argue from known and common cases to one altogether unparalleled and unexceptional. In reply to this, it may be said, that if any one says this *may* have been so, he is bound to shew some reason why it *was* so: otherwise we must suppose Christ like as we are, sin only excepted. Sin being taken away, ignorance was also taken away, and then the duty of obedience to his Mother

<sup>o</sup> Upon the Arian notion the Trinity, see on St. Eph. that there were three wills in p. 381.

came in. No child would sin by disobeying his mother's wishes when he was asleep, or did not know them: but give him consciousness back, and a knowledge of his mother's wishes, and then he must obey them. That knowledge which was infused into his human nature, and distinct, as we have seen above<sup>p</sup>, from experimental knowledge, would have enabled him to know his Mother's wishes when asleep, and to awake and execute them. But suppose farther, that Mary could not be trusted with Christ's secrets from want of some gift which disqualified her for becoming the depository of them, still as her Son had all the treasures of grace as well as of knowledge, he could have made up those deficiencies, and was bound as a dutiful Son to do so.

7. An illustration will make this plainer, even if some parts of the illustration itself seem to be disputable as matter of fact. Suppose then that in the Sacrament of Orders, no sacramental grace enabling a priest to keep the secrets confided to him in confession were given, and that the Bishops were left to select people, of whose capacities for keeping secrets they had ample proof; the servant, who under these circumstances was not allowed to know what his Master was doing in the souls of his children,—the priest, I mean, who was not permitted by the Bishop to hear confessions, from his inability to keep a secret,—would pray to the Giver of all good gifts to obtain this power, if it were desirable he should have it. The Bishop has power to allow or refuse a priest the exercise of his gifts: but he cannot give the inward gift by parts, he must give the whole at once. He cannot withhold the power of keeping the secrets of the confessional, which

<sup>p</sup> Part I. chap. xv. §. 10.

seems to go with the priesthood. Nevertheless, we may suppose him able to do so, and it is plain we should think him very tyrannical and arbitrary, if he would not allow a priest to know the secrets of God's working, simply and solely because he would not give the priest the power to use it well. Now Mary's Son being God as well as man, was bound to give her the power to keep these secrets, and her subsequent conduct will shew that she had that power. Having once done the miracle of becoming her Son, he was bound to treat her dutifully. Infidels have sometimes insolently said, that God cannot make undone what has once been done: as if, with infinite knowledge to foresee and infinite power to prevent, it was possible that God should wish to undo any thing which was done. God had become the Son of a woman, but he had foreseen all the consequences of doing so, and had power to prevent any harm which man might conceive likely to arise from his condescension. Heathens thought the Incarnation absurd, and degrading to God: Nestorius jeered at the Church for making God two, three, or more months' old in the womb: but the Catholic having once admitted the foolishness of Christian truth, fearlessly draws conclusion after conclusion from the premisses, of which that truth is the fountain head. The Apostles seem pretty clearly to call Christ himself, 'the foolishness of God, and the weakness of God'.

<sup>1</sup> Honor. ap. Max. ii. p. 182. "If any one says, Why, when you were discussing the humanity of Christ, did you make no mention of his Godhead? We reply . . . that in this as in all things we followed the usage of Scripture, which some-

times speaks of his Godhead; as when the Apostle says, Christ the power of God and the Wisdom of God: sometimes of his humanity; as when he says, The foolishness of God, &c." quoting 1 Cor. i. 24, 25.

8. If then our Lady could as Mother bid our Lord to tell her about himself; if, that is, she could not only pray to him as God, but also order him as her Son to disclose truths to her, she could also both beg and bid him to give her grace to understand and act upon them. She could pray to Christ, and command him as a dutiful Son to give what she prayed for: he could enlighten her to ask what the Holy Trinity willed. But prayer is an act of faith, as well as of hope and charity. The blessed Virgin had faith<sup>r</sup> then, and we know that a heathen, who touched Christ in faith, obtained gifts from him. Every part of Mary's womb touched the blessed Jesus as he lay there; and as she knew who he was, and had faith in him, there can be no doubt that virtue would go out of him. We get wearied with an act of faith, so that we cannot continue it above a certain time. But if Mary had grown weary, she could bid her Son to give her wings like an eagle<sup>s</sup>, so that she should continue without weariness that act of faith. Hence also it was impossible that the Child should be any weight or burden to her while in her womb, except she chose it, and as it is certain she would not choose what her Son did not wish, it could not be that he was a burden to her. And by the same law she could obtain from him as much knowledge as she pleased, and retain it, so as to know the names and characters of Apostles and other disciples, and the whole ordering of Christ's kingdom. Moreover, she could bid her Son to accelerate his revelations, and increase her power of receiving them with rapidity, and retaining them with vivid perception. The same too might be said

<sup>r</sup> Luke i. 45. *μακαρία ἡ πιστεύ-σασα.*      <sup>s</sup> Is. xl. 31.

of power, of wisdom to wield it, and of grace, as has been said of knowledge. Once allow that she had the authority of a Mother, and one cannot see any thing which that authority might not with a holy greediness demand of her Son. But most of all, she would have exacted of him a deep insight into his own heart, and when she found there what he was bent on doing for her, and how soon he was eager to do it, her thirst for grace, wisdom, and power would cease to be measured by her own humility, and begin to think of nothing but of satisfying the ardent love of her first-born Son. Of all desires, then, none would be so ardent, as to be made as like as possible to him. If we suppose then that Christ found his Mother a good woman, this conclusion must follow from Anti-nestorian teaching. If she had not the gift of perseverance before, she could have made her Son give it her then, and so secured herself against all pride, whatever amount of gifts he bestowed upon her.

9. It is idle to except against this, that it is not in Scripture, and the like, as upon that principle sermons and every sort of writing, which drew conclusions from Scripture, would be wrong. We are told to meditate upon what is revealed: and we are told, that the Word was made flesh; we meditate on that, and find it *must* mean, that God united to himself at once a human soul and body, and destroyed all the effects of sin in that soul: we are told, that Mary was full of grace, and we take that to mean, she was a very good woman: we next meditate upon these two truths together, and find that God made flesh must by being in her have given her every communicable grace. God chose to become the Son of a woman: we contend, that he

could not choose to be an undutiful Son. You may think it as absurd as you please for him to become a woman's Son at all, but you cannot deny that, if he did, the Church draws natural conclusions from an absurd hypothesis. All we contend for is, that the foolishness of God is wiser than man, as in other instances so in this. If God was not in an unconscious half-brute state in her womb, as we are through the fall, he knew Mary's wishes, and was bound to obey them. It is enough for God to have died on the cross, and we need not beset him in the womb with a loathsome and unnecessary ignorance. Admit thus much, and the rest will follow, even upon your own absurd supposition, that our Lady was but a good woman.

10. It may be said still: if this were the case, how came our Lady to be so shy of letting St. Joseph know the real cause of her pregnancy? If she had all this knowledge, natural affection would suggest to her to use it, in order to find out the state of suffering St. Joseph was in, and to remedy it. Either she had not this knowledge, or she was hard-hearted to a deserving and kind-hearted man. In the same way you might say, either our Lord did not 'know all things,' as St. Peter said of him, or he must have been hard-hearted not to spare St. Thomas<sup>t</sup>, who was a deserving and kind-hearted man, the shame of an open profession of hardness

<sup>t</sup> Greg. Magn. Hom. xxvi. in Evang. n. 7. quoted Tromb. i. p. 396. p. 402. It is worth observing, that St. Thomas's inspired exclamation was a favourite text with Nestorians, who distorted it to mean, that there was a tangible flesh

which could not be God, and a God and Lord inhabiting it as a separate person. Vide Maxent. Dial. ii. cap. 15. Casian. de Incarn. iii. v. fin. vi. p. 1279. Theodore ap. Vigil. Const. p. 20. a. etc.

of heart. Or again, if our Lord knew from the beginning what was in man, he must have known what sorrow was in Joseph and Mary's heart, when they sought him sorrowing, at the time he went up with them to the passover. But the truth was, that what was done in either case, was done for the more confirmation of the faith. God might have chosen to let St. Joseph doubt the purity of his Mother, to teach us that man cannot believe in her privileges without illuminating grace. If the affectionate St. Thomas required grace from Christ to believe, so might the just St. Joseph: that the excellency of the power of believing might be seen to be of God, and not of man. It is possible also that our Lord wished two things; to illuminate St. Joseph, and to obey his Mother. Now Divines are agreed that our Lord had freewill, which, though in fact always determined to what was best, yet of two good things had the physical power to choose the latter<sup>†</sup>. Hence if he esteemed obedience best, he might have obeyed his Mother in this as in other things. She knew that the Divine Person in her womb was come to shroud his eternal glory in a veil of mortal flesh in a poor out-of-the-way village, proverbial for its meanness. When God thus concealed his glory, it would be painful beyond measure for the highest of creatures to display his gifts to herself before any one else. Or if it might not indeed be right in our Lady to make St. Joseph suffer for her own

<sup>†</sup> See Petav. de Incarn. ix. 8. §. 5 sq. Lugo. de Incarn. Disp. xxvi. §. 10. §. 11. Petav. §. 13. quotes the following apposite words of St. Thomas, tanto videri perfectiorem obedientiam, quanto expressum præ-

ceptum *prævenit inferior*, voluntate superioris intellectâ. Who will say, that when Christ had once made himself a little lower than his parents, he did not obey them in the *most* perfect way? See above, p. 204.

humility, still it might be but dutiful in the all-wise Babe to weigh his Mother's pain with St. Joseph's, and to see which was greatest; his in suspecting, or hers in being respected. We may for convenience in meditation suppose the Mother and Son to have held a dialogue upon it, and that our Lady finally prevailed, and insisted upon her own wish for humiliation being sacrificed to her desire of releasing St. Joseph from trouble. Hence an Angel was at last sent to relieve him. Such a dialogue may be the best way in which we can bring the matter before our slow and darkened intellects, though in fact a dialogue of thoughts and not of words is what it must have been, if even this be not a clumsy<sup>u</sup> and inadequate exponent of the manner in which such sacred souls held converse. Yet when we consider that Almighty God is driven to the awkward expedient of representing Angels, who are spirits and have no hands or tongues, as playing and singing to music, in order, by what is elevating among men, to raise our thoughts as they best may be to things above—if we consider this awkward expedient used in the Apocalypse in condescension to our grovelling natures, it cannot be wrong for us also to adopt a roughly compacted scaffolding in order to build ourselves up in our holy faith.

11. And it might be useful to consider why St. Matthew does not say, God sent an Angel; but, "An Angel of the Lord appeared to him." We shall

<sup>u</sup> To illustrate this, St. John in Apoc. iv. makes the four Evangelists *cease not* day and night, saying, Holy, Holy, &c. and immediately adds, that when they give glory and benediction to Christ, the elders who were sitting fell down; as if these spirits could express their thoughts in two different ways at once; one occasional, and the other continuous.



consider by and by why it was that the Evangelists say so little of our Lady, and put her in the background, as it were: but here it is important to observe, that the words might stand as they do, if Mary had sent the Angel. We call her the Queen of Angels. And we might easily elicit from the Apostle's words how great her dignity was. For our Lord even in the flesh was heir of all things, and king of Angels, and gave his Angels charge concerning himself, to keep him from those accidents which, from the nature of the flesh, he chose to be liable, such as dashing his foot against a stone, and the like. But to which of his Angels could he say at any time, Thou art my Mother, this day hast thou begotten me? He condescended to let them minister to him, and even strengthen him, but he never was subject to them as he was to his Mother. It is possible then that it was she who despatched the Angel of the Lord to St. Joseph, to release him from his dreadful anxiety. The conclusion he had come to seemed almost a necessary one: he might indeed have read in the prophet, that the Virgin should conceive and bring forth a Son, but it seems as if the recognition, that she was *the* Virgin spoken of, was withheld from him, until she had brought forth the Son. Somewhat in the same way the Apostles were slow of heart to believe what the Prophets had spoken, until our Lord opened their eyes. This would give a good positive sense to the words, He knew her not, *until* she had brought forth her firstborn Son. For though it be true that there are several passages in Scripture in which the word 'until' appears to be used of an action which goes on after the period which the 'until' marks out, I must fairly confess, that there is no one in-

stance\* in which, to my own mind, there does not appear to be some positive sense to the passage: that mode of interpretation merely shews what it does not mean, and not what it does; i. e. it merely negatives a certain sense to the passage. It is easier to give the words, he *knew*<sup>7</sup> her not, a sense short of what they often mean, than to give the word 'until' a sense contrary to what it naturally means. It is however fair to add, that the other is the evasion of the difficulty commonly adopted by Catholic, and even by right-minded protestant, divines<sup>8</sup>.

12. As, however, the majority of protestants would not be at all shocked by supposing that 'the Virgin' ceased to be the Virgin, and had other sons afterwards, it may not be amiss to add here a few more remarks upon this passage. A more loathsome and disgusting heresy than the denial of the ever-virginity of the Blessed Virgin cannot indeed well be imagined. It cannot, says the protestant Bishop Bull<sup>9</sup>, "with decency be imagined, that the most holy vessel which was thus once consecrated to be a receptacle of the Deity, (sic) should be afterwards desecrated and profaned by human use." The existence of the opposite opinion shews to what an abyss of blindness the principle of the 'Bible only' may allow even learned men to fall; for tradition certainly, in all parts of

\* E. g. Is. xlv. 4. donec senescatis, ego sum. Heb. **אני הוּא**, not **אֲנִי הוּא**, ego (sum) is (qui portabit,) implied in the context. So Matt. fin. Sum vobiscum usque ad consum. sæculi—i. e. uti compugnator contra adversarios. Comp. pt. i. x. §. 9.

<sup>7</sup> Even St. Jerome has the expression, qui licentiâ mari-

tati pœne omnia *cognoverat*, of St. Joseph. See Trombelli, ii. p. 437. f.

<sup>8</sup> See Pearson on the Creed, ii. p. 199. Trombelli, pt. i. diss. xvi.

<sup>9</sup> Serm. iv. 'On the blessed Virgin's low and exalted condition,' p. 96.

the world is strongly opposed to so foul a heresy. However, as there are two expressions here which require explaining, 'he knew her not,' and her '*first-born*' Son, a few words shall now be added upon these two expressions. Either St. Matthew wrote for heretics, or for Catholics: if he wrote for heretics, it must be shewn that they were heretical upon this point, before he can be blamed for using this expression. If he wrote for Catholics, he was perfectly aware that they would hold fast that tradition of the ever-virginity of Mary, which would act as a corrective against any misrepresentation. When they knew this tradition, they would know, that any expression used would simply mean that Joseph did not, so long as God was in her, use that liberty with the blessed Virgin, which he had a right as the husband even of one consecrated to God to take. This might hold good, even if there were not, as St. Thomas supposed, an external brightness<sup>b</sup> shining from our Lady then, which prevented Joseph from gazing upon her. As when Isaac is said to play with his wife, so that Abimelech found out who she was, it must not be supposed that the saintly Isaac would do in public all that was sometimes meant by playing<sup>c</sup>; so it must not be supposed that the saintly Joseph did to Mary all that was sometimes meant by knowing a wife. This then would give an ample sense to the words, 'knew not his wife,' without forcing upon the word 'until'<sup>d</sup> a non-natural sense. As for the

<sup>b</sup> V. in Ephrem, p. 51. n. z.

<sup>c</sup> Gen. xxvi. 8. מצחק. For the sense of the word here alluded to, see Wetsten on 1 Cor. x. 7.

<sup>d</sup> St. Jerome's instances, ap. Tr vol. ii. p. 438. to confess the

truth seem to me inconclusive.

E. g. when we say Paul was thrown into chains at Rome, before he got to Spain, the reason why we do not imply that he ever got there is, because we know death so commonly cuts

word 'first-born,' it is usual to give it also a negative sense with which those who can, may feel satisfied. If, however, we remember how often our Lord is called the First-born\*, where there is no mention of Mary, and how much the Fathers are in the habit of explaining this by reference to his brethren by grace, it will be obvious to put the same sense on the word here. As Jesus was the First-born of the Father, because, though he was only-begotten Son by nature, he had brethren by grace; so he was also the first-born of Mary, because, though her only Son by nature, yet he had brethren by grace. As he took from the Father that substance which made him God, so he took from the Mother that substance which made him man. He was not conceived of Mary in the natural way by the will of the flesh, but when once conceived, nature, in many respects, took its ordinary course. The Child was nine months forming in the womb, and drew its substance as man from Mary's flesh, as other men do from their mothers, being nourished by the same ducts and producing the same effects upon the Mother except those which sprung from the curse at the fall. Hence

short men's plans. But if I say Joseph did not know Mary before she had brought forth her first-born, I do not know any common cause intervening to stop his doing so afterwards. The answer in the text assumes that a cause was supposed by St. M. to be *known* by all Christians to intervene. Tromb. ii. p. 442. just notices this might be so.

\* See part i. chap. x. Cyril. Apol. p. 166-7. σῶμα ἐκ τῆς μακαρίας Παρθενοῦ λαβὼν προήλθεν ἄνθρωπος, ὡς τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς

ὁμοιωθῇ καὶ χρηματίσῃ πρωτότοκος ὁ Μονογένης. And in the ad Reginas, of this passage he says, p. 115, 116. ἓνα καὶ μόνον ἔτεκεν Υἱὸν τὸν Ἐμμανουὴλ ἡ ἀγία παρθένος. Πῶς οὖν φησὶ τὸν αὐτῆς Υἱὸν τὸν πρωτότοκον; οὐ γὰρ γεγόνασιν ἕτεροι μετ' αὐτὸν, μεμένηκε δὲ παρθένος. . . . (ὅτι) ὠνόμασται πρωτότοκος ὁ Μονογένης τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγος· κεκοίνωνηκε γὰρ αἵματος καὶ σαρκὸς καὶ παραπλησίως μέτεσχε τῶν αὐτῶν (Cyril. from the Latin, ἡμῖν μ. τ. ἄλλων) οὕτω γέγονεν ἐν πολλοῖς ἀδελ. Πρωτότ.

Jesus may be said to be by nature Mary's Son, though it was grace and not lust, nor the will of the flesh, which had put that nature into operation. But as St. John and other Christians are made her sons by grace, Jesus is reasonably called her *first-born*. This will give a plain intelligible positive sense to the word, and will avoid all evasions. Though it will necessarily be unacceptable to those who disown so great a Mother, it may also prove a useful warning to some.

13. But to recur to the subject of our Lady's authority over the Angels: the Fathers not unfrequently asserted, that evil angels stole from Divine Prophecy whatever future events they foretold in their oracles. It is certain, that good Angels would know and understand those prophecies vastly better than the evil would. The world was then looking out for a Saviour, and the Angels could not fail to know what God was doing. Things future, and thoughts of the heart, they do not know: but they see God, and in him all that he has done or is doing. Hence they would see that Isaiah's prophecy of the Virgin conceiving was now taking place. They would know, that the First-begotten was being brought into the world by Mary's agency. She had given her consent to our Redemption, God having sent one of the seven spirits<sup>f</sup> which stand before his throne to ask her permission to be born of her; for to force her to undertake the office, would have

<sup>f</sup> It has been said, that there may be three or four Gabriels, for all we know; but here I take it for granted, that there is but one, and that his own description of himself identifies him with one of the seven spirits mentioned by St. John, Luke i.

19. Apoc. i. 4. The Church identifies him also with the Gabriel mentioned in Daniel, (so far as the office for his day will indicate her opinion of such identity,) as does St. James of Nisibis, p. 59.

been unworthy of him who already knew her disposition to obey him in all things. This disposition alone would have manifested her to the Angels, as the fittest Virgin upon earth to conceive God, and have made it perhaps certain to them, that when God did condescend to take flesh of a woman, it would be from her. To this may be added, that evil angels seem to have been enabled to imitate the miracles of Moses, because even they saw the occult seeds of diverse natures, before they came so fully into being, as to be cognizable by man's senses. Much more then would the keen perception of holy Angels, desirous to look into the loving mysteries of redemption, descry the very first beginnings of that divine body which was conceiving in Mary's womb. They would perceive how in all things she was a Mother to him, and be filled with a wonderful awe for her, whom God himself had devised a means of obeying. It is not possible that all the Angels of God, who were bidden to worship God in that raiment of humanity which he was putting on, could have stood round about Mary in whom he was, without feelings of awe for her who stood in so sublime a relationship to God incarnate.

14. Her dignity and glory at this time is wonderfully expressed by the ancient<sup>s</sup> explanation of the type of the burning bush, in which the fire, which is one separate subsistency, is made the type of God

<sup>s</sup> Theodot. in Ephes. p. 1656.c. Method. de Sym. et Ann. ix. ap. Galland. vol. iii. p. 814. Nyssen. iii. p. 344. d. V. Mosis. p. 190. d. Procl. de Beata, vi. 6. ap. Garn. ii. p. 20. Ephrem, iii. p. 605. Cyril Glaph. p. 262. Theodoret in loc. q. 6. Sophronius in Mai Spicil. vol. 4. p. 51. Jo. Dam.

vol. ii. p. 854. Euch. Lugdun. Form. Spir. iv. Durant. ad Birgitt. p. 91. Maracc. Polyanth. Marian. in V. Rubus. Lauret. Sylv. Alleg. ibid. Tromb. ii. p. 159. n. Even Calov on the place allows this: *Typum veteres constituunt hic tum Incarn. tum conceptionis Christi.*

the Son, and the bush, which is another, the type of Mary. And it is to be observed, that if people think it childish rather than childlike to be capable of being instructed by such allegories, as St. Paul did not despise, though he had put away childish things; still they must perforce acknowledge, that such acute minds as Nyssen, for instance, Cyril, or Augustine, had the doctrine before them, and fitted the types to it. Tradition was, as it were, a bunch of keys already in their hands; Scripture as a set of locks; and even though the idea of trying this or that key upon this or that lock were allowed to be quite out of their own head, still it was not they who made the key any more than the lock. It may moreover be a proper humiliation for those who shut themselves out from the evidence which the Holy Ghost gives within the pale of the Church by the inspired gift of faith, that they should be driven to the use of weaker and more circuitous proofs. If there be any analogy between God's dealings, in regard to the moral and the theological virtues, we do not find that those who have grown up in sin have the same clear perception of the duty of living morally, that those who have grown up well enjoy. They are obliged to act, if trying to reform, upon uncertain evidence, which will grow clearer by acting on it. Uncertain evidence, such as allegory affords, may be all God will give to those who have disobeyed his Church all their life long. It would indeed be most impudent, as St. Austin<sup>b</sup> suggests, to attempt to expound an allegorical passage in one's own favour against the Church, when you cannot allege also those manifest passages by the light of which the hard passages are cleared up. And yet for those

<sup>b</sup> Epist. 93. §. 24.

out of the Church, such obscure proofs may be all that God vouchsafes them for the teaching of the Church. Hence in this part of the work such proofs will be often referred to, not only as furnishing proof that the Fathers who use them had the doctrines in question, but also as serving to test people, and shew if they have the mind of little children, (who learn by fables and the like): which mind is necessary for them who have yet to enter into the kingdom of heaven. For as Nyssen has profoundly remarked of a similar type, the type of Elias in the fiery car, ‘He who in Elias can perceive beforehand the reality foreshadowed there, would not have any repugnance to the reality itself.’

<sup>i</sup> Cont. Apollin. xxv. extr. *ὁ ἐν ἐκείνῳ προκαταμαθὼν σκιαγραφηθεῖσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, οὐδ’ ἂν πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀντιτύπως ἔχει.* I have no where met a remark, which appears to me to clench the whole question of the utility of allegory in so few words.



## CHAP. II.

UPON THE VISITATION OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN TO SAINT ELIZABETH.

1. OCCASION has been taken in the former part of this work<sup>a</sup> to indicate, that from the leaping of the Baptist in the womb and the prophesying of Elizabeth, it might be inferred, that the oil of gladness was already so in the infant Jesus, as to be able to overflow from him. But it will be proper to consider that fact more at length here, as it suggests so many thoughts confirmative of what has been already said, and preparatory for what will follow. The Visitation may be also further expanded, by considering it as the head, to which the events of the sacred pregnancy may be referred. The last chapter dwelt upon the more immediate consequences of the miraculous conception, and considered the Child rather as forming, than as formed. The ancient<sup>b</sup> Christian

<sup>a</sup> Chap. xii. §. 2.

<sup>b</sup> Maxim. Conf. ii. p. 278. says, it is "not to his present purpose to refute the rotten and *groundless* propositions of those, who, being specially mistaken about the real *dogmas* of the *Church* concerning the soul, either give it a preexistence to its own body in the Grecian fashion, or an after-existence in the Jewish manner." So that Combefis's remark, that the schoolmen are not much pressed by his arguments, is nonsensical: he spe-

cially says, that it is not to his purpose to argue the matter. Comp. p. 32. *ibid.* and see Tromb. part i. Diss. xi. q. 13. cap. 1. for the old ideas on the subject. Anastas. Sinaita, p. 27. e. p. 391. b. agrees with Maximus, as indeed does Leo in his Tome, p. 882. οὐδὲ καθ' ἑτεραν ἀρχὴν κ. τ. λ. where, if the Latin is ambiguous, the Greek puts it beyond a doubt. St. Austin's doubts (Epist. 140. 32.) originate partly from this, and partly from his idea, that the origin of the soul could never be settled in this

doctrine is, that the soul of children is given as soon as they are conceived, and that our Saviour was like other men in this, and not an exception, as was thought, when the Aristotelian notion of a separate and subsequent infusion of the soul was in vogue. As this latter notion is now generally discarded, we are relieved in this book from the necessity of any speculations as to the perfection of Christ's form from the first, and other pious opinions resulting from the Aristotelian fancy more or less; because if we secure the presence of a soul to all men from the first, the perfection of it, and not of the body, will be most to our purpose to keep before us. This is especially the case, as we have allowed in the first part of this book, that Christ made his soul depend in certain respects for its external operation upon the state of his body: not only the organs of sense, but the brain, require a certain state of growth in our fallen nature, before the soul can energize through them. As, however, it is exceedingly hard to obtain from the Fathers<sup>c</sup> any precise notion of the exact state in which the human nature of our Lord was in these respects; as we have no reason whatever to affirm, that a soul with grace far short of that of the hypostatic union, (grace, e. g. such as would remove

life. Viva (in Thes. Damn. ab. Innoc. XI. Thes. 35. p. 269. etc.) would forgive us now for going by *all* medical men against the 'torrentem docturum,' who only took up with Aristotle's fancy upon the subject. Greg.iii. in Hard.iii. p. 1874. c. is the first clear instance of the Quadragintarian theory in Latin which I know, though a trace of it occurs in Ether. and Beat. ii. v. fin. Contrast Alcuin c. Fel. p. 853. d. de An. Rat.

p. 777. a. As for the earlier Greeks, the Septuagint version of Exod. xxi. 22. led some of them to the opposite opinion.

<sup>c</sup> Cyril. in Nest. p. 18. c. and much more plainly Leontius c. Nest. p. 560. in Mai. C. N. vol. ix. are instances of Fathers misled by the Jewish version into the Jewish notion, as Maximus shrewdly calls it. Antipater Bost. Mai. C. N. i. part 3. p. 86. gives sundry views.

original sin,) would be subject to this dependence upon the growth of the body for this particular sort of knowledge; so we have no grounds in reason to think, that the soul once freed from original sin would fail to organize the body very much more rapidly than it now does<sup>d</sup>. On the contrary, every thing would lead us to expect such rapid organization, sin once removed. Still, as has been said already, what we are concerned with here is, the capacity of the soul to do rational acts in spite of such bodily imperfection, which capacity is strongly brought before us by the Visitation.

2. In discussions of this kind people require to be reminded again and again, that the course of nature is the course of things established by God, and that as he unquestionably does interfere with this course by miraculous interpositions, so there may be not single instances only, but whole dispensations exempt from the rules of this course of nature, belonging to another course of nature, or, if you please to the course of that grace which restores nature to its original state, and exempts it from the influence of those disturbing causes introduced into it by Satan. Once suppose this course of grace in being, and it is plain you cannot argue to it from the course of nature. You cannot say then, that an infant to see another person must be out of the womb, and to be conscious of that person's presence *must* have come from the womb with its organs in a certain state of forwardness: you cannot argue in this way in regard to a course of nature once interfered with by Almighty God. Once suppose God to have interfered, say by

<sup>d</sup> The argument drawn from the slow organization of cattle, who have no original sin, is met by St. Austin, de Pecc. Mer. et Rem. i. §. 68. and indeed by Aristotle, Anal. Post. v. fin.

removing original sin in a manner and at a time wholly unexampled by any thing else you know of°, and how can you prove, that an interference at that time and in that manner does not naturally restore consciousness which was only taken away owing to the fall? If you make the state of the soul so dependent upon the state of the body, you cannot deny that there may be a time, when the body has not got that firm grasp upon the soul, which it has in cases which come under your knowledge, and consequently you cannot deny but what there may be an early period in their existence, when an interference on God's part would rescue the soul from the chance of the body getting that grasp upon it. If again it be nearly certain that no two bodies were ever exactly alike, and highly credible that each soul is so the counterpart of its own body, as to be incapable of animating any other body<sup>f</sup>, then it is plain that some particular soul may have been created with natural predispositions for a more perfect independence upon the senses than any other soul in existence was. For as souls are known to exist with every degree of susceptibility of influence from the body, no one can say where the minimum of susceptibility should be placed. If then the scope of nature in this respect cannot be ascertained, much less could the scope of grace. These remarks may serve to set aside some *à priori* reasonings against the natural inferences drawn from the passage of Scripture we are going to consider.

3. In reply to them, the case of Jeremias may be

\* Compare the miracle of the infant who 'had partaken of the cup of devils' rejecting the Chalice, in August. Ep. 98. §. 4. and his remarks thereon. Also St. Rose's Life, v. init. <sup>f</sup> This remark, which is Aristotle's, will be noticed again in the Third Part, chap. v.

most fairly urged ; it may be said, that he is stated to have been sanctified in the womb as well as the Baptist, and yet that he cannot be said to have been freed from original sin. For he curses the day of his birth, which, unless he had brought something cursed into the world with him, he could not have done without sin<sup>6</sup>. If he sinned in doing so, he shared that original sin which is the root and ground of actual sin : if he did not sin in doing so, he had the original curse. This argument, though not metaphysically conclusive, is so morally ; as it is unlikely to the last degree that God would exempt him from a birth in original sin, and not secure him the gift of perseverance.

4. This argument, I allow, appears to me to be perfectly conclusive against Jeremias' exemption from original sin at his birth. Nevertheless, it is not a parallel from which any conclusion can be drawn in regard to the Baptist. For as sanctifying means one thing, when Christ says, 'I sanctify myself,' another when St. Paul says, 'ye are sanctified,' another when God says, 'I have sanctified Cyrus,' the amount of sanctification bestowed must be inferred from the history of the persons, and the object intended. A small amount of moral gifts fitted Cyrus for the object for which he was intended : therefore less is meant by the word when used of him, than in the other instances. By proceeding in this way, we should measure the meaning of the word by what God has

<sup>6</sup> This is Gregory the Great's interpretation in the *Moralia*, iv. §. 6. *a Lapide ad Jerem.* xx. 15. p. 687. and St. Austin's c. Jul. Pel. vi. §. 78. *Comp. Clemens. Strom.* iii. cap. xvi. §. 100. *ibique Potterum. Anast. Sin.*

*qu.* xxx. p. 304. Grets. St. Austin regards the woes of this life as the fruit of original, where there was no actual, sin. Hence some apparently divergent views of this text converge.

revealed of the object intended. And as we should be at a loss to find any such ground for assigning to Jeremias such a pre-eminent distinction as is ascribed to no one else, not even Abraham, Noe, Daniel, or Job, in the Old Testament, so we have no difficulty whatever in finding ground for assigning such a distinction to the immediate precursor of Christ, and baptizer of God Almighty. The exceeding greatness of the office intended, is a reason for giving the word 'sanctify' its largest suitable meaning. If again we go to historical proofs, we find an action apparently rational (as we shall see) ascribed to St. John in the womb, and no such action ascribed to Jeremias: we find a saying indicative of the presence of actual or original sin recorded of Jeremias, and no such saying recorded of the Baptist. Therefore to limit the sense of sanctification in the womb in Jeremias's case harmonizes with what Scripture tells us, to extend it in St. John's case also harmonizes with Scripture. Whether then we measure the meaning of the word by the object intended, or by the history of the persons, which object and which history we know from revelation, the conclusion is the same. Whatever other people may wish, there is no wish here to extend the Baptist's immunity to the prophet: there seems sufficient reason for denying that it was so extended. It may be added, that as the Old Testament represents Noe, Daniel, Job, and Abraham as the greatest of men in God's esteem, so the New asserts that none of these were greater than John the Baptist. Jeremias is not spoken of either in the New or the Old Testament as a preeminently great saint, unless you choose to be leavened by the doctrine of the Pharisees and Sadducees, and connect him with Elias and John the Baptist<sup>h</sup>.

<sup>h</sup> Matt. xvi. 12—14.

5. Granting, however, that some reasonable and authoritative tradition connected together these three names, we shall still be led to assume, that St. John the antitype was greater than either of these types of him. And as revelation consists not only of Scripture, but also of tradition, we may proceed first to quote the passage in St. Luke descriptive of the Visitation, and next to give some of the statements of the ancients, which shew that they looked upon the exultation of St. John in the womb in the same light as we do at this day. And it should be observed beforehand, that if St. John could receive grace then, much more could Christ give it: if St. John could act rationally then in consequence of grace, much more could Christ act rationally as having all grace. Hence the joy of John at the Visitation will become a voucher for the obedience of Christ at the conception. He that sanctifies in the womb is greater than he that is sanctified. If the latter is rational, then the other will be also. If the penalty of Adam's sin was so done away in John, that he was capable of receiving grace, much more must it in Christ have been so rescinded, that he was 'capable of having a precept given him' by Mary, and 'a law of her commandment to keep' it<sup>1</sup>.

6. The sacred narrative may be expanded as follows: 'Mary rising up in those days went into the hill country with haste, into a city of Juda,' a journey of a hundred miles and upwards from Nazareth: 'and she entered into the house of Zachary, and saluted Elizabeth' her relative with a kiss and embrace<sup>2</sup>. 'And it came to pass when Elizabeth heard

<sup>1</sup> See part i. chap. ii. §. 5.

<sup>2</sup> ἡσπάσατο the common version of the Hebrew ורנשך. Vide Buonaroti ap. Tromb. iii.

p. 119. who mentions an antique ivory diptych at Bologna representing Mary embracing Elizabeth.

the salutation,' with which Mary accompanied her embrace, the infant leaped in her womb, and Elizabeth was filled with the Holy Ghost,' in consequence of that leaping, and she cried out with a loud voice indicative of vehement joy, and said, as if inspired to copy Gabriel's salutation, 'Blessed art thou amongst women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb! And how comes it that the Mother of my Lord<sup>k</sup> God should come to me,' unworthy as I am of such a visitor? For that God is in thy womb, I know from the miracle that has happened in my own, seeing that as soon as the voice of thy salutation sounded in my ears, the infant in my womb leaped, not from any ordinary cause, but, as I know by revelation, for joy at the presence of him who is anointed with the oil of gladness. 'And blessed art thou that hast believed,' blessed is that faith which triumphed over thy humility, yes, blessed is that faith which has obtained so great promises; 'for those things shall be accomplished which were spoken to thee by the Lord.'—Such I apprehend, must be allowed to be a natural and easy way of connecting together the passage before us.

7. Upon this passage it may be remarked in the first place, that St. Elizabeth is inspired to know that Mary is the Mother of God. She is filled with the Holy Ghost, and calls an infant only just conceived her Lord. There is no instance in Scripture of this term being applied to any but a superior: and as this Child was God, the mighty, there is an obvious reason why Elizabeth, when inspired with the same

<sup>k</sup> Some persons say that this title is not equivalent to Mother of my *God*: probably they would deny that it was the Lord God of glory who was crucified. The *Kýrios* of the LXX. is the equivalent for Jehovah.



Spirit as Isaias, should see in what sense a Child of a few days old was her superior. The Mother of the mighty God and Prince of peace, is naturally called the Mother of her Lord. The name will not bear any other sense but that of Mother of my God ; unless you suppose Elizabeth inspired by another Holy Spirit from him who inspired Isaias. Nor can you say with reason, that Elizabeth did not see that her name meant as much, unless you think that Zachary did not write down for her the prophecy of the Angel touching the office of John, the precursor of the Lord. She knew that she had conceived miraculously at an age when she was past childbearing, and that her son was to be filled with the Holy Spirit even from the womb of his mother, and that he should be great in the Lord's sight. Unless then she also knew the dignity of Mary's Son, she had no cause to be surprised at her visit, but might reasonably have expected that Mary would come to pay her respects to one who was honoured by being made the mother of so great a Prophet. And it is unlikely, to the degree of being impossible, that one so humble as Mary (who it seems had got out of Joseph's<sup>1</sup> way to avoid the distress of telling him whom she had conceived) could have borne to disclose her own dignity to Elizabeth. Moreover, it is revealed to Elizabeth, that the faith of Mary was the cause of what had happened to her. For how else could she have known that she had believed ? Hence, as Mary was infinitely more closely allied to Jesus than that garment, the hem of which was made a channel of

<sup>1</sup> Some think Joseph went with her ; to me this appears, on many grounds, highly im- probable ; and, B. xiv. de Festis, B. V. M. v. §. 4. says, each may think as he likes.

miracles, having herself faith enough to remove all difficulties, it is credible that she should work this miracle in the infant son of Elizabeth. For no man works a miracle in his own strength; it is only by bringing the Power of God and the Wisdom of God to bear upon certain things that he works it.

8. One consequence of the Visitation was, that the babe leaped for joy at Christ's presence. Now if we consider that it had been promised, that the babe should be filled with the Holy Spirit in his mother's womb<sup>m</sup>, and that as he was there who came to give the Holy Spirit, there can be no reasonable doubt but that the promise was then fulfilled. If it had been a brute unreasoning joy, such as mountains and birds are said, by a figure of speech, to feel at the presence of the Lord, or such as the infants are said to have broken out into miraculously, when Christ entered Jerusalem in triumph, how could it be said that he was *filled* with the Holy Ghost? To be filled is to have enough and to spare: and St. Luke throughout speaks as if the inspiration of the Almighty had first imparted understanding to the child, and afterwards to Elizabeth. 'The infant exulted, and Elizabeth was filled with the Holy Ghost,' are words which in Hebrew or Syriac would naturally imply, that the latter event was caused by and dependent upon the former<sup>n</sup>. And Elizabeth speaks of the exultation of St. John, as if of a sufficient cause

<sup>m</sup> ἐν τῇ ἐκ μήτρᾳς can hardly be forced into any other meaning than *in* his mother's womb.

<sup>n</sup> The sense in Hebrew would run somewhat as follows, ויהי בשמוע אלישבת קול מרים והנער עלו כרחמה ותמלא רוח הקדש וגו'. The force of this

remark is not drawn from the use in Hebrew of the so called ך conversive, but from the paucity of illative particles in those languages, and the fact that the simple conjunction supplies their place.

for her own assertions and conduct. All this is intelligible, if John was filled with the Spirit of the Lord, the same Spirit of wisdom and understanding which was in the infant Jesus, and overflowed to the Baptist.

9. But it is very possible to explain all this otherwise, and to set limits to the goodness and power of the infant Saviour, if we go by our own reasonings upon the matter. As St. Augustine goes more or less against the general tradition here, there can be no denying that other people may err if they follow their own reasonings. And that St. Augustine, if so minded, was against tradition therein is plain from the fact, that Ambrose his master, and Bede his pupil and follower, differ from him. As this is the case, we shall postpone the discussion of this deviation (apparent or real) from the general run of tradition upon the subject, and proceed to cite our venerable countryman. "When blessed Mary opened her mouth for the salutation, straightway Elizabeth was filled with the Holy Spirit, and John was filled too; and both being taught by one and the same Spirit, the former recognised who it was that saluted her, and venerated her as the Mother of her Lord, with the benediction due to her: the child *understood* that it was the Lord who was being carried in the Virgin's womb; and because he was not able yet to do it with his tongue, with exulting spirit he saluted Christ, and intimated even before he was born, upon the approach of his Lord, with such signs as he could, with what devotion and willingness he would, when a youth, fulfil his office of precursor." And presently after. For "Elizabeth, by the revelation of the same Spirit as she was filled with, understood the meaning of that leaping

of her babe; namely, that the Mother of him had come, whose precursor and demonstrator he was to be<sup>p</sup>." And in one of his hymns he says; "When yet a little one within his mother's womb, gentle he caught the spirit of grace, the witness he of grace to come, and even though unborn as yet, already gave testimony to the light<sup>q</sup>." And S. Sophronius speaks of "that dancing in the womb of his which *first* preached the Saviour in the womb<sup>r</sup>." And again; "Thus John is conceived who has preeminence; who alone even in the womb prophesied; for he perceived the Lord who was present in the Virgin's womb, and alone in the womb became pregnant with the Holy Ghost, thus conceiving in himself and and being conceived [at the same time]: conceived by a barren mother, and conceiving the grace of the Spirit, and travailing with prophecy before his mother's travail came, and bringing forth the gift of the Spirit before himself was brought forth<sup>s</sup>."

10. These, however, are passages written after the time when the Agnoetæ had been condemned: but it will be found, from the places which are next quoted, that the same view of the subject can be traced back to the earliest ages of the Church. St. Bede and St. Leo deserve noticing, as being great followers of St. Augustine in other respects: for this shews they did not regard this part of his teaching as conformable to the spirit of the Church. Hence, if there is no weight in the remarks presently to be made about St. Austin's opinion hereon, it will still remain true, that the Church holds the opposite opinion. In favour of this last are the following

<sup>p</sup> Ed. Giles, vol. v. p. 296.  
p. 299.

<sup>q</sup> Ibid. i. p. 88.

<sup>r</sup> Ap. Mai. Spicil. vol. iv.  
p. 3.

<sup>s</sup> Ibid. p. 17.

words of St. Peter Chrysologus : “ Blessed be John, who had the happiness to thunder with the Spirit of God, sooner than by crying he wailed with that of man ; to possess what was divine, before he had what was human allotted to him ; to become acquainted with heaven, before he was with earth ; to foretel things to come, before he saw things present ! Blessed be he, who was able to contain God in his body, before he himself was contained in a body of his own : blessed, yea singularly blessed he, who before he knew how to seek for merit, gained it ! who did not by his labours arrive at grace, but by the condescension of grace itself entered upon his labours<sup>†</sup>.” St. Maximus of Turin : “ He is indeed the happiest of all children, who, while he was yet shut up in the womb, by his prophetic joy revealed that the Saviour of the world was come, when he could not do it yet with words. There is no one, dearly beloved, who does not know, that all children, when they come from their mother’s womb, at the first dawn of light upon them make a pitiful noise with their cries. The baptizer of the Lord is the only child who was an exception to this rule, and anticipated his birth by joyous exultation<sup>‡</sup>.” Leo the Great : “ The precursor of Christ that was to be, had received the Spirit of prophecy within his mother’s womb, and when a child as yet unborn, by the signal of his imprisoned joy, had pointed out the parent of the Lord, as if within her bowels he were already exclaiming, ‘ Behold the Lamb of God<sup>‡</sup> ! ’ ” St. Cyril in the Epistle to the Egyptians, allowed by the Council, in addition to what has been above quoted, says, “ John, who was still within the womb,

<sup>†</sup> Serm. 88.

in several other homilies.

<sup>‡</sup> Serm. 65. p. 207. as also

<sup>‡</sup> Serm. v. in Epiph.

when he perceived the voice of Mary, Mother of God, leapt for joy<sup>r</sup>." St. Paulinus, the correspondent of St. Austin: "John moved his mother's womb, | And filled her breast with cognizance divine; | A seer already, and, though yet enwombed, | Things past, or future, prophet-like beheld<sup>s</sup>." St. Epiphanius: "While yet in his mother's womb he perceived that his Lord had come in, and exulted<sup>a</sup>." So Chrysostome says, "Before his birth he preached the Saviour<sup>b</sup>." St. Jerome puts his mother's words into his mouth: "Who cried out from his mother's womb, 'Whence is this to me that the Mother of my Lord should come to me<sup>c</sup>?' " St. Ambrose also: "Was he in being who prophesied, or no? Certainly in being he was, for he was in being, who paid reverence to his Creator, and spoke in his mother. In fact, Elizabeth was filled with her son's Spirit, Mary was sanctified by her Son's Spirit. For it says, 'the infant rejoiced in her womb, and Elizabeth was filled with the Holy Spirit.' Observe the propriety of every word: Elizabeth was the first to hear Mary's voice, but John was first to feel the grace of the Lord<sup>d</sup>." Cyril of Jerusalem thinks, that "Jeremias was sanctified in the same way, yet did not prophesy in the womb. John alone when shut up in the womb leapt for joy, and though with the eyes of his body he did not see, yet with his spirit he recognised his Lord<sup>e</sup>." Athanasius, cited in the Council of Ephesus, says the same: "Jeremy when in the womb was sanctified, and John when he was

<sup>r</sup> Ep. ad Ægypt. in vol. vi.  
Ep. i. p. 4. b. comp. above, p. 228.

<sup>s</sup> De S. Jo. Bapt. Poem vi.  
l. 144.

<sup>a</sup> In Panar. lxii. §. 5.

<sup>b</sup> In Matth. Hom. 36. alias  
37. §. 1.

<sup>c</sup> adv. Lucif. §. 7.

<sup>d</sup> De Fid. iv. §. 113.

<sup>e</sup> Or. Catech. iii. §. 6.

in the womb leapt for joy at the voice of Mary Mother of God<sup>f</sup>.” “John,” says St. Hilary, “broke into words, even when shut up in his mother’s womb<sup>g</sup>.” “Then,” says Origen, “did Jesus first make his precursor a prophet, and so there can be no doubt, that he who was then filled with the Holy Spirit, was filled owing to her son. For it was not the mother who first had the happiness to receive the Holy Spirit, but when John who was then shut up in the womb had first received the Holy Spirit, then she, after her son’s sanctification, was also filled with the Holy Spirit<sup>h</sup>.” And Tertullian says, “Elizabeth carried the infant prophet, already conscious of his Lord, and was moreover filled with the Holy Spirit<sup>i</sup>.” “When John,” says Irenæus, “was still in his mother’s womb, and Christ in Mary, he saluted his Lord, knowing him, and exulting<sup>j</sup>.”

11. Enough then has been done to shew what the Church thinks of the passage before us, and to prove, that to attribute to St. John the power of consciousness after the Visitation, while he was yet in the womb, is no novel doctrine. But whatever shews that this was held of John, will prove it à fortiori of Jesus; for John confessed and denied not, but confessed that he was not the true light which lightens all men. If therefore this was thus early and universally believed of John, let it be acknowledged that what was afterwards held of Jesus was not a novelty of the fifth or sixth century<sup>k</sup>, but either must have been believed from the first

<sup>f</sup> In Ephes. p. 1401. a.

<sup>g</sup> De Trinit. ii. 26.

<sup>h</sup> Hom. vii. in Luc. i.

<sup>i</sup> De Carne Christi, 21.

<sup>j</sup> Adv. Hær. iii. 16. These

passages and some others are taken from Trombelli, vol. ii. p. 224, &c.

<sup>k</sup> Ad Dard. 1. 7. 24. 25.

of Jesus, or is at least *consistent* with what the earlier centuries believed of the great light that went before his face. Let it be acknowledged that the proof drawn from the argument of Apollinaris, noticed above, is confirmed by this remarkable *à fortiori* evidence. For even St. Cyril himself, when writing against Apollinaris, says; "If God the Word, being in the place of the mind (in Christ), received the affections of the mind, then it was this which was grieved, and feared, and was *ignorant*, and in agony, and strengthened by the assistance of an angel<sup>1</sup>." In which words he plainly wishes to point out the use of all these things, as exhibiting to us the *reality* of the human nature, not the actual *state* of it in Christ.

12. The only passage I know of in antiquity which appears to gainsay this received doctrine is found in St. Austin. As his testimony upon all questions connected with grace is so important, it will be right to say a few words to shew that this contrariety must not be rated too high. In the first place it must be remembered, that St. A.'s time was so occupied, that, to use his own expression<sup>m</sup>, he had 'scarce a few drops of leisure trickled out to him,' when he had got through his work. This perpetual vortex of business obliged him, in some instances, to pass over some of the difficulties upon which his correspondents asked his opinion, or to answer them by suggestions rather than full discussions, or to dispatch one or two out of several difficulties with any such answer as came to hand, that appeared true as far as it went, but sometimes even admitted of being wrested away to a heretical sense. Thus on one occasion he told a priest, who was in controversy with heathens, that a reason why Christ came

<sup>1</sup> Ap. Mai. Coll. Nov. vol. viii.  
pt. 2. p. 84.

<sup>m</sup> Epist. cx. §. 5. cclxi. §. 1.  
and 15. cii. §. 27.



when he did, was because he knew there were people then who would profit by his teaching<sup>a</sup>—though the Semipelagians used this to shew he once thought that Christ preached to those whose merits invited him to do so—as if Christ had not said that those of Tyre and Sidon would have been converted long ago, had he preached to them. This the Saint himself tells us was an answer suited to the circumstances, and not expressive of his real sentiments, but of so much of them only as heathen would understand. If his many occupations forced him to use short answers of this kind at times, much more may we expect that the particular difficulties which at any given time engaged his attention would colour the answer he gave. Now the passage which was above alluded to occurs in an Epistle written at a time when “his attention was particularly engaged with the Pelagian heresy<sup>b</sup>,” when he was “very busy indeed, and besieged, and shut in with mounds of other cares<sup>c</sup>,” upon a subject no less deep than this: ‘how God is more present to saints than to others.’ To this question Dardanus, who proposed it in a postscript, adds: “I should like to know what you think about women with child, seeing the mother of John the Baptist made the answer of faith for her son?” It is plain that from this exception Dardanus wants to infer a rule, which rule happened to be particularly obnoxious to St. Austin at the time: for from the preceding Epistle we learn, that the Pelagians argued from the case of Esau and Jacob, that ‘infants sinned by their own free will.’ Seeing (they say) that infants acted as these did, how can you say there is no decision of their own will towards good

<sup>a</sup> Epist. cii. §. 14. *ibiq. dicta.*

<sup>b</sup> Retr. ii. 49.

<sup>c</sup> Epist. clxxxvii. 2. *occupatis-*

*simo aliarumque curarum moli-*

*bus vallato atque obstructo—*  
not obstricto, which spoils the  
metaphor.

or evil, from which decision rewards or punishments follow suited to the merits preceding?" Although he had at the time suggested that this was not a case of such decision, but a prodigy, i. e. an exception to the general rule, still with this before his mind, it was natural to be jealous of a second prodigy leaning the same way, and to shew that it did admit of other solutions. In spite of the strong testimony of St. Ambrose, his beloved master, the other way, he suggests these solutions, as one mode of despatching Dardanus's postscript, and that not in a separate discussion, but by the way, in the course of his treatment of the main subject of his letter. In handling the main subject, he is led to consider the wonderful fact, that God dwells in some creatures who are not conscious of his presence, and in some who are, does not dwell. Hence he answers the postscript by the way, and as a digression in language which it has been thought unnecessary to occupy room with in this volume.

13. It may be as well to add, that a continuance of a cause implies the continuance of an effect, until the contrary can be shewn. The Blessed Virgin had brought God there, and had been the means of St. John's sanctification: she was the cause of what had happened, and as she did not remove for about three months, it is natural to conclude, that the effects she had produced went on. Moreover, as it was a hundred miles or so from Nazareth to Hebron, where Elizabeth probably lived, and as Mary did not start till after Elizabeth was above five months with child; as we know from other cases, that 'about'

<sup>1</sup> Trombelli, ii. p. 282. compares Mark viii. 9. with 'about 4000,' with Matt. xv. 38. '4000 besides women and children;' and John vi. 10. 'about 5000,' with Matt. xiv. 21. '5000 besides' &c.

in Scripture language may mean 'above,' and as there is every other reason to think Mary would wish to console Elizabeth in her travail, it would seem that both cause and effect continued till after the child's birth. This being so, we are in a fair position to assign the following probable reasons for the Visitation: (1) the desire to sanctify John by taking Jesus to him; (2) the desire to console Elizabeth in those pains from which Mary was exempt; (3) the desire to avoid St. Joseph, in order that the sacred pregnancy might on Mary's return strike him the more; and (4) the design of God, that Mary should be in a signal manner a type of the Church carrying Jesus to the sick. Many other questions might be raised in connection with this period of Mary's life: it might be interesting to consider, whether when pregnant with God she was likely to kneel down to pray; whether St. Joseph at that time ever stood in her presence; whether she had continually a vision of the Angels, who must have been continually about her, her Son being more able than Eliseus to open her eyes to the sight; and whether a vision of the Trinity, far clearer than St. Ignatius had at Mass, was not vouchsafed to her. But leaving these and similar questions to devout meditation, it will be proper here to add a few observations upon the third object of the Visitation above specified.

14. It has been already noticed, that Almighty God may have permitted St. Joseph to 'be blind for a season, not seeing the Sun' of Justice, for our sakes. It does not at all follow, that because he went to the synagogue every sabbath, or read the Prophets at home, that therefore it would strike him to apply the prophecy of Isaiah to our Lady. On the con-

trary, it seems as if this gift of seeing the fulfilment of a prophecy<sup>r</sup> was a special divine gift, and that it might have been withheld from St. Joseph for a useful purpose. Now there are two most useful purposes, which we can assign; one is, that it might be more clearly and undeniably brought to light, that Christ was conceived not of the will of man, nor of the will of the flesh, but of the Holy Ghost. This is a useful purpose, similar to that effected by the affectionate St. Thomas being allowed to doubt. It has become so trite, that it is scarcely worth noticing. There may have been also another most useful purpose subserved by God allowing so great a saint to doubt our Lady's virginity, which is mentioned here as particularly instructive to those for whom this work is intended. It is this; faith is the gift of God, whether it be faith in relation to God, angels, or saints, in the Trinity, or in the Incarnation: now by allowing a person, destined to act as his father, to doubt and disbelieve Mary's preeminence, God has given a most useful and important lesson to all heretics and others, who suppose they can understand, without humble and earnest prayer, what is or is not the right degree of reverence to shew to his Mother. Such a dispensation as removed the grace of belief in Mary's privileges from his own father (as he is called) St. Joseph, serves beyond any other I can conceive, to shew that this grace of belief is a gift of God, to be obtained by prayer and not by wrangling. Till grace came back, St. Joseph was, no doubt, putting things together in his mind,

<sup>r</sup> St. A. Epist. 194, 10.—Cur altitudo est divitiarum sapientiae et scientiae Dei.—This is a parallel case. Comp. 2 Pet. i. 20, 21. 1 Cor. xii. 10.

and arguing with himself as blindly possibly as any creature left to himself. It may be observed, moreover, that Scripture calls Joseph a just man, and that the divines of the Church count it a part of *justice* not to disclose without the gravest reasons the sins of others, even when we have certain information of them. This indeed is a lesson for many Catholics, but here it is mentioned for the sake of those who, though they have no certain information, often think themselves at liberty to disclose the sins, lyingly attributed to the Church, to others who else would be ignorant of them. It is also to be observed, that Elizabeth obtained graces through St. John from Mary, which shews that it is allowable to use the intercession of patron saints and angel guardians with our Lady, when we wish her to gain graces of her Son for us. Whatever other motives God may have had in keeping St. Joseph in the dark, such ignorant creatures as we are may perhaps profit by attributing these to him, until we see some better lesson to be learnt from what is revealed to us.

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15. As the Magnificat was pronounced upon the occasion of the Visitation of Elizabeth, and not upon that of the Incarnation of our Lord, it seems desirable to say something upon the subject here; though it is not easy to do so without getting upon topics which belong more properly to the third part of the work. Moreover, the nature of the Hymn itself makes it very hard to say any thing satisfactory upon it. For if it be true that Mary is the highest of created beings, it is almost certain, that what she says will have a grasp and a depth not easy for poor sinners to attain to: and even if we could harmonize all that different saintly men may have said upon

this Canticle, it might yet be the case that its grasp and depth was such, as to take in things which they had omitted. Hence it might be allowable to take up with such an interpretation of the blessed Virgin's words here, as best suited the scope and object of this work, provided that interpretation did not go against received doctrine. And this is some sort of reason for not attempting to harmonize all, that it might be desirable to harmonize of what has been said on this Canticle. The words also have such a simplicity about them, and contain thoughts so simple, that some perhaps, who have looked for depth of meaning worthy of the speaker in them, may be disposed after a time to doubt whether they are not *intended* to satisfy the poor in this world's learning with good things, and to send the fastidious rich empty away. Any comments then which are here offered are offered with the greatest diffidence, as not likely to satisfy others as to the meaning put upon the words. Such as they are, however, they have been written under the impression, that the two following principles are of the utmost importance towards understanding the Magnificat. The one is, that we may expect beforehand from the Virgin's humility, which breathes on the very face of the Canticle, that all allusions to her own pre-eminent privileges will be as vague and as indefinite and as unobtrusive as possible. The other is, that the time and occasion upon which the Canticle was first pronounced, should be very particularly kept in mind throughout the whole of any attempt to understand it. For the great key to any general and comprehensive meaning it may have, is the original and particular application of the words when first spoken. With these preludes we may proceed to consider the

most sacred words, perhaps, which ever proceeded from the tongue of any creature.

16. *My soul doth magnify the Lord.* When David bethought himself of the Tabernacles of the Lord of hosts, he said, ‘*Cor meum, et caro mea exultaverant in Deum vivum;*’ but here the blessed Virgin, having become herself the Ark of the Covenant, says nothing of her heart and flesh rejoicing, but only of her soul and her spirit. Possibly some were present then who would feel as a certain woman afterwards did, ‘Blessed is the womb that bare thee;’ who would think more of the relationship of Mary’s flesh to Christ’s, than of her soul’s relationship to God. But when it was due to her to be made the Mother of an offspring at once human and divine, she conceived God in her mind before she conceived him in her body\*: and though her flesh was even then ministering to him that sacred flesh, which, when he had made it part of his person, was to fill the hungry with good things; still she could not bring herself to mention her own flesh in the presence of that which became one with God himself. The substance ceased to belong to her person when it became part of his: it left what was not adorable with *Latria*, to become thus adorable by being made one with God†. It left

\* Leo, Serm. xxi. §. 1. Greg. Naz. Or. p. 620. Ephrem. O. G. ii. p. 270. August. Serm. 215. 4. De Pecc. Mer. ii. §. 38. Sanctum germen in se fieri *promerentem*. Comp. Anton. ad Jacob. Nis. p. 60.

† An error of this sort was held by some persons, and is condemned in the following language by Benedict XIV. as has been pointed out to me by my old and valued friend Father Faber. ‘*Hæc doctrina habita est tanquam erronea*

*periculosa et scandalosa, (sic) reprobatusque fuit cultus quem ex eâ præstandum Beatissimæ Virgini in Sacramento Altaris asserebant.*’ lib. iv. cap. 30. §. 29. ed. Bonon. 1734. and Raynaudus, Dipt. Mari. vol. vii. p. 65. there quoted, gives as the reason why such conduct is ‘*hæreticum et fatuum,*’ ‘*quia distinctorum hominum distincta sunt corpora, &c.*’ To confuse distinct persons, is a stride towards pantheism.

the person who was not to be sacrificed for us, to become one with the Person who is sacrificed for us. But it was the gifts bestowed upon her immaculate and unchangeable soul which chiefly stirred her gratitude. The gifts bestowed upon it were greater and better than even to have flesh pure enough for God to use to create himself a body from out of it. And see what that soul could do already with Christ! at the fiat of its will, it moved the Saviour of the world from one place to another, till she had brought the flesh of God near enough to St. John to act upon him, hidden though he was in the womb. What thoughts must have burst upon Mary's prophetic soul, when for the first time she had experimental proof that God had so localized himself in a body, that out of it he was henceforth to shed forth all blessings upon men! What a vista of holy communicants, and devout adorers of Jesus in the Sacrament, must have been then before her, each leaping in the womb of this world's existence for joy at that Saviour's hidden presence, whom they are one day to behold face to face! She was not the first of David's house, that had had a vision of what was to come: for Isaias long before had described the feast of fat things, and how it would make men say, 'Lo, this is our God, and we have waited for him, and he will save us!'<sup>u</sup> Well then might the hidden Saviour reveal Eucharistic thoughts to Mary, as she was exerting at her will, upon St. John, for the first time, the influence of that sacred flesh. Her Son, having a human will, is capable of receiving a command<sup>x</sup>, capable of obeying a creature<sup>y</sup>, capable of being carried where Mary

<sup>u</sup> Chap. xxv.<sup>y</sup> Vide Cyril, above, p. 204.<sup>x</sup> Vide Augustine, quoted n. q. above, p. 41.



pleases, capable of shedding blessings on those to whom she chooses to take him. "What is not predestinated," says Gregory the Great, "that can by no means be obtained: yet what the saints effect by prayer is in such way predestinated, as that it is by prayer it is to be obtained<sup>z</sup>." Therefore if any great gifts were predestinated for St. John the Baptist, prayer or any other act of the 'soul' that now 'magnifies the Lord,' was not shut out by the predestination of those gifts. Neither are we to defraud Mary of that act of love, which she now magnifies the Lord for, because he had predestined her to do it. Christ's human will was always in harmony with his divine will, which divine will is one and the same will with his Father's will. Still we must not deny that he had a separate human will, seeing this is essential to a human soul. In the same way his Mother's will doubtless was always in harmony with his will, divine or human: still we must not deny that it was a separate human will, free in acting, and essential to that soul that now humbly magnifies the Lord.

17. *And my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour.* The spirit and the soul are often distinguished in Scripture, the latter being that which is essential to a human being, and the former that which is essential to a Christian. Now though this distinction is not always observed, either in Scripture or in the holy Fathers, it may be used here, "not as if the spirit of each of us was a part of God," says Clement of Alexandria, "when Scripture says, 'in those days I will pour forth my Spirit on all flesh, and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy;' but as a gift inherent in Christians, as he there implies<sup>a</sup>." The

<sup>z</sup> Dial. i. cap. 8.

See also an Essay towards the

<sup>a</sup> Strom. lib. v. cap. xiii. §. 89.

Conversion of Hindus, note 51.

spirit of Mary then may be said in this sense to rejoice in God her Saviour, because the spirit is that gift or faculty of the soul, whereby it converses with things spiritual and eternal and unseen. Mary then having the source of the Spirit within her, has him poured out upon her, and in the gift she thereby has, rejoices at what she sees done in John and Elizabeth, and is reminded of what was done in herself. For even if she was without original or actual sin, and had no such need of a Saviour as we have, still God might be called her Saviour in many ways. For, in the first place, had nature taken its course, she would have been conceived in sin: the miracle, therefore, which intervened to prevent original sin passing from her parents to herself, was done by God her Saviour, because he intended to be born of her. If there had been no need of Christ, there would have been no need of Mary: the Divine Person within her might therefore be fitly called her Saviour, because it was the foresight of his dignity which was the cause of her immunity from what else would have naturally passed to her. The Scotists think, that even those Angels which were elect Angels, continued in God's favour by reason of the foresight of Christ's merits, and that Christ would have been born, even if man had not sinned. Those who think this opinion in accordance not only with occasional passages of the Fathers, but with the general drift<sup>b</sup> of them, will find no difficulty in calling Christ Mary's Saviour, for with them he may be called the Angels' Saviour<sup>c</sup>. But in either view it is plain, that Christ

p. 319. where some passages on this distinction are put together, and the use of it against Pantheism pointed out.

<sup>b</sup> See Petavius, quoted above, p. 210. n. g.

<sup>c</sup> Lugo has noticed, de Incarn. Disp. xxvii. §. 3. n. 27. how this

may be called her Saviour, because he caused the graces, which she could not have had without him. Observe then how much her humility is enhanced by believing her to be immaculate! she uses words which at first sight seem to imply she was a sinner, and needed a Saviour, *as* we do. The sample of God's operation upon a child in the womb now before her, reminds her of what he had done for herself, and she alludes to it modestly: for the spirit of the prophetess is subject to the prophetess<sup>d</sup>. As God is said in the Psalms to rejoice in his works, though he has before him but a sample of what he has power to do; so Mary has before her and within her a sample of her power, and rejoices in the God who gave it her.

18. *For he hath regarded the lowliness, or low estate, of his handmaid.* The Latin word here does not mean 'humility' necessarily: the Greek means humi-

theory will meet several passages of the Fathers. But whether he was acquainted with the Fathers otherwise than through quotations, I greatly doubt; had he been, he might have thought it against the general drift of them. He raises difficulties against it himself. Berti, de Incarn. lib. xxv. cap. 12. says, 'Amplexati sunt opinionem Scoti (sciz prædestinatam fuisse incarnationem, priusquam divino decreto statueretur productio hominis) etiam Catharinus (Dominicanus), Suarez (Jesuita), et Ysambertus (Sorbonnensis), sed illam *major pars* theologorum refellit.' The reader can determine for himself, whether it was a theory likely

to be acceptable to the great doctor of the Incarnation. Trombelli, i. p. 77. and Montagne, alias Tournely, de Gratia, p. 54. ed. Migne, may also be referred to for other authorities for the Scotist view. Two questions here have been treated as one: for the question, are the Angels saved by Christ's merits? and the question, would Christ have become man, without the '*felix culpa quæ meruit tantum Redemptorem*?' run up easily into one question. So far as I am able to form an opinion, I cannot keep to the Scotist theory, however taking. Sed plus amo discere, quam docere, as St. Austin somewhere says.

<sup>d</sup> 1 Cor. xiv. 32.

liation. It may seem more humble to speak of her low condition, than of the virtue which resulted from it; but Moses styled himself ‘exceeding meek<sup>e</sup>,’ and Christ himself said, ‘I am meek and humble of heart.’ So the blessed Virgin might, without infringing humility, call herself humble. But it seems better to understand it of her humble condition, and then, as it has been observed, we have an unexpected proof of her immaculate conception<sup>f</sup>. For instead of bringing forward and, as it were, parading her sins to magnify God’s mercy the more, as St. Paul, or St. Augustine, or countless other saints have done; all she has to say in order to exalt God’s mercy in making her the Mother of Jesus, and the conveyer of such grace to John, is, ‘respexit humilitatem ancillæ suæ.’ David not only confessed his actual sin before God in the Miserere, but that nothing might be wanting to exalt God’s mercy, he traced the whole of his life up to its very beginning, and parades even his original sin before God, that the vileness of himself might by contrast exhibit God’s goodness the more. Certainly if Mary had known any thing of the sort in herself, she would have been sure now to have brought it forward; else she could not brag of humility certainly, if she who had had the greatest of favours shewn her failed to follow so obvious an example, and had learnt nothing from a Psalm the Church so frequently<sup>g</sup> brought before her. Therefore she mentions that low condition that she was in—descended indeed from the royal penitent, but without either the outward ensigns of his royalty, or the inward taint of original sin, to invite divine mercy to her: she feels herself to be the promised seed: she is

• Numb. xii. 3. Matt. xi. 29.      nificat, and Panegir. ix. p. 154.

<sup>f</sup> See Segneri on the Mag-      <sup>g</sup> V. Gesen. in v. נצח.

perfectly conscious that God is within her : she knows that she is our Mediatrix, though “not in that high and peculiar sense in which Christ is our Mediator<sup>h</sup>.” Yet she knows that God has in her become a servant in nature, and so in spite of the privileges she must have felt herself conscious of, she calls herself ‘the handmaid’ of the Lord still, and thus seems to repudiate the title of honour which Elizabeth had just bestowed upon her. God was taking upon him the form of a servant in her womb, and so she loved not the title of ‘Mother of God’ in her humility, so much as that of ‘handmaid.’

19. *For, behold, from henceforth all generations shall call me blessed.* Here three things are chiefly deserving of our consideration : the most prominent is, that Mary sees that something has just happened which will be a lesson to all generations : the next is, that she assigns this as a reason for the assertion made in the former verse ; the words, ‘*for behold from henceforth,*’ &c. implying a reason either for a fact or an assertion : and the last is, that they will call *her* blessed. The thing which has just happened is this : “Elizabeth, when she saw Mary coming to her, perceived that she was pregnant with the incarnate Word, and called her the Mother of her Lord, saying, ‘Whence is this to me, that the Mother of my Lord should come to me?’ And when she said, ‘Blessed art thou that didst believe,’ she plainly indicates that through the Spirit she had learnt the words which the Angel had said to Mary : and when she subjoins, ‘those things shall be accomplished that were spoken to thee by the Lord,’ she foresaw also what was to come<sup>i</sup>.” What Mary’s words mean then in their

<sup>h</sup> Butler, Anal. part ii. chap. v. init. Cyril Thes. p. 296. c.

<sup>i</sup> Greg. Hom. in Ezech. i. §. 8.

first and obvious sense would be, is, that all generations, not Elizabeth only, but all generations would pronounce her blessed. She had been addressed by a title which she did not like to repeat for humility's sake: therefore she herself makes only a distant allusion to it. The title of 'blessed' she does not so recoil from, because it more distinctly implies a blesser, and because it was a title which had been bestowed upon Jael the wife of Heber, and others. Nevertheless, if Elizabeth was an example to all generations in giving the name, she must have been seen by the Virgin to be an example in the reason she gave also: Elizabeth first calls her and her Son blessed, then calls her Mother of Jehovah; then states the effect of that dignity upon her babe and upon herself; then gives the reason which led to that dignity. What Elizabeth meant by the title 'Blessed' then is plain, and Mary doubtless foresaw that all generations of Catholics would take the same view of the title. Next, Mary assigns this as the reason of what she had asserted, that God had regarded her low condition: as if she had implied, God has indeed raised me from a low state, for all generations will have me before them in the same light as you have now. Lastly, they will call her 'Blessed.' Men mostly call the proud blessed<sup>1</sup>, but Christians will pronounce her blessed, whose humble faith brought God to the earth. The proud are called blessed, because men from want of faith do not wait to the end, before they pronounce men blessed. But Mary foresees the end, and knows she will have the title to the end; and with the title the grounds of it, namely, the power of a Mother with God, who was to be her first-born Son, and if first-born, first-

<sup>1</sup> Mal. iii. 15.

born among many brethren, who, like the Baptist in the womb, were to reap the wonderful fruits of Mary's power with God, and call her Blessed in return.

20. *For he that is mighty hath done great things to me*,—not 'hath magnified me,' which might be done by one great thing, but hath done more than one great thing. She says not 'a great thing' as of one, but 'great things' as of many. It is neither a Hebrew nor a Greek way of speaking, to talk of 'doing great things for one,' in the English sense of the phrase: and the Hebrew has a distinct expression for the phrase which St. Luke borrows from the Septuagint here<sup>j</sup>. I understand it then to allude in as unobtrusive a way as possible, not only to the present favour Christ had shewn to the Baptist at Mary's instance, but to those past acts of favour to herself, which the sanctification of a child in the womb, and the rational acts it did there, and the gifts it procured for Elizabeth, had a special tendency to remind her of. These things were done by him that was mighty, by 'the mighty God,' whom Isaias promised she should conceive. Perhaps too, 'owing to the unmoveableness of predestination,' she uses the past for the future, and reads in what she is now doing an earnest of the many things she would do hereafter. For 'Holy' is his name. Now the name Holy, if applied to him who is God, is little more than a truism here, except it be applied to him as having now a human nature also, which he had taken to sanctify others. This power, which he had given to human nature taken into himself, he had actually used upon St. John. For though it be true that it says, 'I sanctify myself,' and so speaks as if he were in the act of continually sanctifying

<sup>j</sup> Psalm lxx. 19.

what was not holy before ; yet this present tense does not imply that the human nature was not perfectly holy from the first, any more than the past tenses ‘ begotten,’ ‘ not made,’ imply that the Father has ceased, or ever will cease, to beget the Son : in such cases the obvious impression made by the words must be corrected by recalling to mind the subject matter. But as the continuous sanctifying of his human nature, or keeping it in sanctity, by virtue of his divine, was ‘ for their sakes,’ whom he had chosen out of the world, so he now shews by sanctifying the Baptist, that he always had that power. And though it was from her Saviour that it came, yet Mary could not but exult at its being done through her means, and to this, with joyous humility, she here appears to allude.

21. *And his mercy is from generation unto generations unto them that fear him.* If it be true that the name ‘ Holy’ in the last verse refers to the Son of God as incarnate, then it is easy to see, why Mary passes on to speak of the diffusion of his mercy throughout all generations. For mercy in her mind perhaps did not consist so much in the remission of sins past, as in the infusion of holiness. The want of that holiness had been the great want of human nature ; and the mercy of God was principally shewn by taking human nature into himself, in such way as to become a permanent source of holiness to mankind. Now as Mary had been imparting it here to a child in the womb, she may have seen that she would be the principal channel of all graces to those yet (as it were) in the womb of the Church, with whom she travails until they are brought forth<sup>k</sup>. For the mercy now shewn was not shewn in a

<sup>k</sup> Gal. iv. 19.



manner that was to be repeated: it must therefore be not in the manner of it that it is continued, so far as that manner concerns the time at which the Baptist received it; but in its being a type of something more lasting and spiritual. For perhaps there is no one recorded miracle of our Lord that is not therefore selected for recording, because it was the type of something to happen in the Church. There are in this view, excepting the point already excluded, several things in the manner in which God has dealt with the Church at diverse times, answering to the manner of this miracle. God might have saved us without taking flesh: but he took it, and chose to save us by it. He might have created flesh out of the earth by that power whereby he could raise up children to Abraham out of the stones: but he chose to be born of a woman, and here he uses that woman to bring that flesh which he had taken to St. John. He might have shed his graces from Mary upon Elizabeth directly, but instead of that, the babe in her womb is the first recipient of Mary's favour, and from him it flows on to Elizabeth also. If therefore God has conferred on all generations favours in the same order, this miracle would be a type of others. If patron saints intercede with Mary, and Mary with Jesus, and Jesus, though in a different way, with God for us; then a course, or order, of doing mercy to them that fear him, was begun upon now, which was followed up afterwards. Thus St. Gregory Thaumaturgus prays to God: Mary and St. John appear to him: Mary orders John to dictate a creed to him: John dictates it, and St. Gregory uses it. Mary might then be modestly alluding to that established order of doing mercy, of which in the spirit of prophecy she beheld the continuance in all

generations. It may be added, that the name John in the Hebrew means, ‘the Lord hath had mercy,’ or, ‘he shall have mercy shewn him’<sup>1</sup>. Such allusions and playing upon the words was common to the Jews, and indeed to unsophisticated nature every where<sup>m</sup>. If this were so, it would shew still farther that our Lady had the present circumstances before her mind at the time. It may also be added, that one of the blessings of him that ‘fears the Lord,’ mentioned in the Psalms, is, ‘that his wife shall be as the fruitful vine.’ This blessing Zachary had gotten from the Lord by prayer. ‘Thy prayer is heard,’ said the Angel, ‘and thy wife Elizabeth shall bear thee a son, and thou shalt call his name John.’ Every item of this promise might be alluded to by Mary.

22. *He has done a power, or mighty act, with his Arm.* Here we have, apparently, some one thing alluded to again: if it were rendered, ‘he has done a miracle with his Arm,’ it would not probably be a bad representation of the sense intended. The Arm of God is commonly taken by the holy Fathers to be a mystical name for God the Son. If it be so taken here, it will give a good sense: the humble Virgin ascribes to her Son the miracle wrought upon St. John, and says nothing about herself, whose Arm he had deigned to become. When St. Paul recounts

<sup>1</sup> יחנן: probably all words beginning with י are contractions of the sacred name Jehovah, which the Jews made no scruple of using in early times: an unpronounceable name is not only a heathenish superstition, but a contradiction in terms. Perhaps our Lady’s words, if spoken in Hebrew, would have been יחנן יראי ברך

דריים: and then the name John would be alluded to by the first word.

<sup>m</sup> Vide Glassii, Philol. Sacra, vol. i. pt. 2. p. 1335. ed. Dathe. Braun. ad Justin. Mart. Apol. p. 81. Newman ad Athan. p. 114. n. b. Ast. ad Platon. Conviv. §. 13. Bahr. ad Herod. vol. iii. p. 2. Wunder ad Sophocl. Ajac. 422. Elmsl. ad Bacch. 508.

what he had done, he checks himself, and says, 'yet not I, but God with me:' the humility of Mary is so great, that though she had done in God's strength such a miracle as no one did before or will do after, she has not even to check or correct herself at all, but at once sets us an example of ascribing all to God. *He has scattered the proud by the thought of their own heart*<sup>a</sup>. He has, that is, used their own ideas of the way God ought to act, as the way to keep them aloof from God, when he does act. Many a convert might say, 'I once thought with myself, that I had free access to the throne of grace, and no need of others to pray for me: hence I despised Mary, patron saints, and angel guardians. But God be praised, who has taught me often to regard myself as too vile to speak to him face to face. I now 'stand afar off' by his grace, and acknowledge that I have sinned indeed *before* him, but *against* heaven, against those who are my best friends as well as against him.' Those who never have thoughts like these—is there no pride in their hearts that keeps them from such thoughts? and if it does, may not God use this very thought of theirs to keep them aloof from him till they can lay it down? is it not pride, sometimes, that makes people think they can go to Christ at once, and want no friend to speak with him? But John, being a babe and free from pride, draws Mary to him, and with Mary, Jesus. In her long journey, Mary had past many who were too proud to have any miracle done to *them*, because of their unbelief.

23. *He hath put down the mighty from their seat, and hath exalted the humble.* Thoughts not unlike

<sup>a</sup> It should be noticed, that this verse another play on the in Hebrew there would be in words, **הוריע** and **בוריע**.

these may be supposed perhaps to have passed before the blessed Virgin's mind, as she foresaw what was to come—for God, who would not hide from Abraham what he was going to do to Sodom and Gomorrha, surely would not hide from his Mother what was in his heart (now that he really had a heart) to do with the world.—The pride of his enemies, noticed in the last verse, goeth before their fall: in the eyes of his divine foreknowledge they are scattered already. Mary had consecrated John by bringing Christ to him: and what was John's office, but to baptize his Redeemer? When the time of that baptism came, then the mighty that sat in Moses' seat were virtually deposed by God. "The patience that had been shewn to this priesthood, though it would only serve to them as a pretext for wickedness, yet must needs be shewn until Christ came, to whom it belongs, and to whom John made it over in the Jordan<sup>o</sup>." The Virgin then may have seen in what she had just done the virtual death-warrant for the Jewish system, and an end foredoomed for those mighty ones, whom she herself had been chiefly called to reverence as her rulers spiritual and temporal. By their offence salvation was to come to the Gentiles<sup>p</sup>, and the humble fishermen were to be ere long as princes in all lands, exercising a spiritual dominion far and wide on earth, and soon after to reign over the nations in heaven with a rod of iron, when they had overcome the world by faith, and kept Christ's works to the end<sup>q</sup>. In vision bright, Mary doubtless saw "the loftiest summit of the noblest empire of the world a suppliant at the fisherman St. Peter's tomb,

<sup>o</sup> Ephrem, vol. ii. p. 185. c.

<sup>p</sup> Rom. xi. 11.

Compare O. T. p. 197. d.

<sup>q</sup> Apoc. ii. 26, 27.

with diadem laid down before it<sup>r</sup>." This was but the outward sign of the inward power of St. Peter himself, if we will but "raise our mind's eye to contemplate the glory of the most blessed Apostle Peter, who from the Fountain himself of all graces was inundated with such copious streams, that though there were many things which he alone received, yet nothing was transmitted to any one without his having a share in its transmission." For Christ "gave to him whom he had made prince of the whole Church such great power, that if Popes do or ordain any thing rightly even in our days, it is to his working, to his steering, that it is to be ascribed<sup>r</sup>." Even then Mary might have addressed her Son in Prudentius's words.

Oh Christ, thou only Deity,  
 Thou light and power from heav'n come,  
 Creator of the earth and sky,  
 True founder of the walls of Rome!  
 Who in the Capitol didst place  
 A universal throne,  
 And bid the world in Roman laws  
 And arms its mistress own:  
 That all the clashing usages,  
 Rites, tongues, or ways, the nations ow'd,  
 Thou mightest fetter there beneath  
 One universal code.  
 The sway of Remus mortals all  
*Do* grant to be supreme;  
 Discordant rites one language hold,  
 Muse on one common theme.  
 Yes, this was, sure, design'd, that soon  
 Beneath the Christian name  
 Thou might'st with links of charity  
 The world as conquer'd claim.

<sup>r</sup> Aug. Epist. 232. §. 3. Imperii nobilissimi eminentissimum culmen ad sepulchrum piscatoris Petri summisso demate supplicare.  
<sup>r</sup> Leo, Serm. iv. The power he means, relates throughout to the 'Pontificii sacramentum.'

Christ, to thy Romans quickly grant  
 The state may Christian be,  
 Through which to others thou hast given  
 A ritual unity !  
 This side and that let all become  
 Confederate in their creed,  
 Tam'd be the subjugated world,  
 And tam'd its royal head '.

Thoughts akin to this we might suppose to have passed before Mary, as she spoke in the past of what God intended certainly to do, and had foretold by his prophets. And him too whose head she had crushed, the old serpent, she could not fail to see him fallen as lightning from heaven, and the very throne which he, who was the beginning of the ways of God<sup>1</sup>, had voided, still left for her. How could she, who was exercising at this moment a greater power with God than the queens of the earth, fail to anticipate a vast increase of power, wisdom, and love, when she was clothed with that Sun of Justice, to whom she was now giving the garment of the flesh ? ' Because he put on the garment of her flesh, she put on his glory<sup>2</sup>,' says St. Ephrem. How then could she fail to see, that she herself was one of the humble who were to be exalted ?

24. *He hath filled the hungry with good things, and the rich he hath sent empty away.* On these words little need be said. They contain so obvious an allusion to the Eucharist, that they have been employed with a slight alteration by the Church for

<sup>1</sup> In Laurent. p. 112. ed. Plantin.

<sup>2</sup> See Job xl. 14. and Durant. ad Birgitt, p. 94.

<sup>3</sup> O. T. p. 51. n. xx. The meaning of these pregnant

words is substantially the same, whichever way they are rendered. In the text I have rendered as if the words 'garment of his Mother' and 'her flesh' were in apposition.

the antiphon on the Feast of Corpus Christi. Mary in bringing her Son to Elizabeth is a type of the Church bringing the Holy Sacrament to the sick. She fills John and Elizabeth with the Spirit from that flesh which, if it could be severed from the Spirit, profiteth nothing. Yet she bore herself herein a more special resemblance to the communicant; because she had within her the flesh which had been drawn from her substance, and had passed into connection with a different and divine Person. Neither was there any one upon earth that hungered after justice as she hungered: or that was in so perfect a manner filled. Yet she had not been able to impart what she had gained to the rich, whom she had passed. "The rich," says St. Austin, "have been brought to Christ's table, and receive of his body and blood, and adore only, but are not satisfied as well: because they do not imitate Christ; for while they eat him who was poor, they disdain to be poor'." So was it with the rich proprietors, whom Mary had passed upon her way to Elizabeth. The Holy Ghost did not say to her, 'Go in thither,' but led her to a poorer abode.

25. *He has taken upon him Israel his servant, being mindful of his mercy to Abraham and to his seed for ever, as he spoke to our fathers.* The words are put here in this order, to avoid the confused notion they otherwise give in English from its want of cases. The cases in the Greek and Latin shew, that the words 'as he spake to our fathers' are a parenthesis. 'He has taken upon him Israel,' is an expression nearly the same in the original as occurs in the Epistle to the Hebrews, where it says, 'he took upon him the seed of Abraham.' The Latin word

† Epist. 140. §. 66.

(suscepit) was in familiar use with the Fathers, when they spoke of Christ taking our flesh. And 'Israel my servant' is a common expression for the people or seed of Israel. To take flesh of this seed was to shew mercy to Abraham, and to remember his promise to him. "The grace was owed to this seed for their fathers' sake". The prayers of the Patriarchs, here or in limbo, had contributed to bring Christ to the earth: and when he came, he shewed thereby that he remembered them and their prayers. When he shewed mercy to St. John in the womb, and nipped original sin in the bud, he shewed his regard to Adam's penitence: when he did it through Mary, he shewed that the woman, who through fickleness of mind rather than through pride had been deceived, and so led man into sin, was now the first to lead him from it. It is to be observed here also, that the Patriarch whom Mary mentioned was rich. The poor Lazarus of the Gospel times is received into the bosom of the rich Abraham of the old covenant. This is remarkable, as emptiness of spiritual things had been just promised to the rich under the new covenant, and as Christ afterwards represented it as a miraculous thing, if a rich man entered into the kingdom of heaven<sup>a</sup>. The mention of Abraham may however have brought to Mary's mind his readiness and her own to sacrifice the only Son, in order to please God. "Abraham would not offend God when he ordered the sacrificing of his own son, though he hoped and wished him to be the heir of all his riches." Mary knew that her Son would be obedient to her, even to the death of the Cross, and read even now in the heart

<sup>a</sup> Cyril in Jo. p. 512. a. and Epist. 157. §. 23.

<sup>a</sup> See August. Sermon. xli. §. 4.



of Jesus the nature of that death, which was necessary to bring to issue the mercy promised to the fathers. She was ready to give him up, who was heir not of what she had, but of all things. Her song of triumph ends, when she has once spoken of him who gave his son to God to be sacrificed, 'accounting,' though not without sorrow, 'that God is able to raise even from the dead<sup>b</sup>.'

26. There may be people in the world who think it unlikely, that so much could crowd at once upon the Virgin Mary's soul. To those who do not reflect how much comes before our minds often, in one instant, where we are deeply interested, this attempt to unfold in part the Magnificat will seem strained and unnatural. Others perhaps with more reason will think what has been here said narrow, poor, inadequate, insufficient. Yet as no explanation of our Lord's prayer would fully exhaust all it may fitly mean, so will none exhaust the contents of our Lady's hymn. As it is not irreligious to give the former such a turn as may square best with present needs: so, it is hoped, some similar excuse may be found for this rash intrusion upon the religious privacy of the thoughts of the 'Seat of Wisdom' and the 'Mirror of Justice.'

27. The reader is requested to observe, how especially this hymn tells (if this interpretation of it be worth any thing) both against Pelagianism and Nestorianism. Give Mary the very highest attributes you please; say, if you please, as Albertus Magnus did, that she could not be *more* united to God without becoming God; make her immaculate, if you will, from the first instant of her conception: still she would not have served as an originating

<sup>b</sup> Heb. xi. 19.

source of grace. While she calls God her Saviour, she in two words destroys Pelagianism and Nestorianism; for she makes her Son the source of all her merits, in the manner aforesaid, and implies that she is, as Elizabeth had styled her, the Mother of Jehovah. Indeed, the whole hymn may be considered to be an antidote to the ascription of merit to man without grace.

## CHAP. III.

## THE NATIVITY.

1. OF all the joyous mysteries, there is none more joyous than the Nativity of our Saviour. What we see, or could have seen, is easier for imagination to recall or to create, than 'an invisible miracle' like the Incarnation. Hence we feel joy, creatures of sense as we are, from the Nativity more easily than from the Incarnation of God the Son; and hence the Church, in tender condescension to this principle in human nature, celebrates the Incarnation by a single day's feast, the Nativity by a feast of eight days. The most sabbatarian misbelievers have but poorly succeeded in blotting out of the minds of their misguided followers the recollection of an event so calculated to fill us with joy. The events which followed our Lord's Birth, are celebrated in part during the octave of the Epiphany, and are known pretty generally even to those out of the Church, because they are recorded in Scripture, and so obtrude themselves on their notice. There are, however, other topics to which attention must be called here as well as to the Birth and Manifestation of our Blessed Saviour. These have been discarded by protestants in general, as only traditional, or put aside in conformity with that spirit which abhorred the mention of the name even of the Virgin's womb, the reality whereof God did not abhor. It should

be remembered, however, that if mysteries of our Lord's humanity, which tradition puts before us, may possibly be so severed from his divinity as to wear the semblance of indelicacy, still it is inconsistent in those, who read out aloud in Church passages of Scripture, to some suggestive of evil, to raise any objection to the aforesaid mysteries upon that score. But not to return railing for railing, it is obvious to remark, that as thoughts *may* wander in prayer to what is wrong, so may they in treating of sacred mysteries: yet as in the one case so in the other, it would be absurd to argue against the thing from abuses which it has a natural tendency to destroy and not to create. Marriage alone makes adultery possible, but it would be idle to argue against it upon that score. It may be allowed, however, that some writers have occasionally said things which are highly indelicate and objectionable, but yet are not at all the natural consequence of devotion to the Nativity<sup>a</sup>.

2. The pains of childbirth are distinctly stated in Scripture to be the consequence of the fall: 'I will multiply thy pains and thy conceptions: in pain<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> e. g. the description of the Nativity in Pseudo-Bonaventure's *Life of Christ*, which is urged by the Editor of the Venice edition of 1757, vol. i. p. 119, 120. as a reason for rejecting that 'pack of nonsense,' (nugarum strues,) as he calls it, from the works of the Saint. The passage indeed is all but heretical, as implying the existence of physical contamination of Christ, which the very heathen saw were connected with sin. See the In-

dian's *sanskara* in Colebrook's *Essays*, i. p. 225. and compare Catalani on the 79th Canon of Trull, ii. p. 193. wherein the superstitious rite of some Christians there condemned, justifies the expression 'all but heretical.'

<sup>b</sup> The Hebrew verity has עֲצָבֹן. It is a rule which has been followed throughout this work, to measure the meaning of the Latin when ambiguous by the Hebrew or Greek. The great Bellarmine recommends

shalt thou bring forth children. As original sin is the natural consequence of being conceived by human parents, so pain and anguish are the natural consequence of conception, the natural punishment which waits, as it were, upon all that conceive and bear in sin. Remove by any miracle those passions which disown the sway of reason through which we are brought into being, and there seems no farther need for the pain, which, if not the punishment of them, is at least some kind of drawback and barrier to the illicit use of them. Such a miracle the Incarnation was: the Eternal Spirit by his creative power enabled Mary to become a Mother, without those irrational and brutelike pleasures which introduce sinful flesh into the world.

3. Men might perhaps be found who have been at a loss to assign an ample and satisfying reason for Christ's body being created previously in this manner; men may perhaps have been tempted to think, that the same miraculous power which introduced the Only-begotten into the world in the way he was introduced, might as well by a miracle have suspended for once the influence of those irrational and brute passions which operate in our own creation; or they might suppose, that in some other way God could have secured to his own flesh the possession of that dignity he had designed it to have from all eternity. If indeed he had already done any thing of this kind, then we should see, why it was becoming for himself to be born by some higher and more

the study of Hebrew for this purpose—a recommendation which, if attended to, would often have put a stop to many a perverse dispute. In this

case it is plain that the sorrow meant is the sorrow consequent upon pain. All chastisement for the present seemeth to bring sorrow with it.

distinguishing miracle. Yet even those who have no authority to rule this matter for them, can see, that if we knew the whole of things, it might possibly come out that the Incarnation by the Holy Ghost and of the Virgin was the *only* dignified way for God to be born. They can see too, that when the brute and irrational pleasure, through which men are at present created, is gone, then the pains of childbirth are not due, and therefore that Mary, who conceived without sin, brought forth Jesus without pain. That drunken pleasure, which while it lasts reduces the parents to a brute unreasoning condition, and sometimes even when it is over disqualifies them for a time for touching the holy Bread of Life, had no place in the creation of the Creator's human nature, and therefore the anguish which lackies it was unknown to the 'Mother of our Creator.'

4. That this anguish was not in her is the uniform doctrine of the Christian Church from the first, and is one of the thousand joints and bands which link the early Church to the present, and sever others from her. There are fewer difficulties in the way of proving the perpetuity of the faith in this than in the case of some doctrines: for the only difficulties in this case arise from expressions properly applicable to ordinary childbirth being used in a loose and inaccurate way of Mary's parturition. Such expressions occur, when the author is writing with another aim in view, and not troubling himself to be accurate, where there was no one at hand to insist on his mere words as a sanction for heterodoxy. As difficulties of this kind occur not only in the way of all Christian doctrines, but wherever you are dealing with moral and not mathematical proof, they need not be considered here. It is enough to lay it down,

that the Catholic Church always believed that Christ was conceived without sin, and born without pain<sup>c</sup>.

5. But this is not all that the Church believes upon the subject: she believes, that one of the great causes of the anguish which women feel was removed by the miraculous manner in which the act itself of birth took place. In the Transfiguration we see a proof, that our Lord and God could if he please let loose upon his flesh the floodgates of that glory, which before it rose again he usually withheld. On several occasions we find him passing marvellously through the crowd, like a camel through a needle's eye, by his Almighty power and Godhead. Hence we might have been led to reflect, whether he could not have come through the closed doors of Mary's<sup>d</sup> inviolate womb at his birth, as easily as he did through the doors which the timid disciples had shut after his resurrection; whether he shewed himself to his Mother in a glorified state at the first, whether at his Nativity he gave her, in fact, any singular and experimental proofs of his Divine power. That in the former case he did so display his power, the Church in all parts of the world has ever believed: that in the latter he shewed it, is credible, though by no means commonly taught. A few remarks shall here be made upon each of them.

6. When our Lord argued for the Resurrection of

<sup>c</sup> The proofs of this may be seen in Petavius de Incarn. x. 6. §. 3. xiv. 5. The note to St. Ephrem, p. 115. n. b. may be also referred to.

<sup>d</sup> A fly could not walk in water, nor man in mercury. This may serve to *help towards* a belief in the truth here spoken

of: as it helps to shew, that solidity is a relative term, and the lack of sufficient strength to enable us to overcome resistance may make things seem solid. But a help towards belief must not be taken for a full account of the matter.

the dead from the fact, that the souls are still living, and proved that they were living from the title bestowed upon God in Scripture, he used a method of proof by no means obvious, and perhaps it might be said without irreverence, not *the* proper proof of that doctrine. The proper proof lay in the tradition of the Jewish Church\*, which the Sadducees set aside: nevertheless, a weaker and less cogent proof might be drawn from what they did admit. Those who strip themselves of the lights God has given them, are continually forced to act upon weaker evidence: and he who has sinned by rejecting light, must work his way towards repentance in the dark. This is part of the trial and probation of many men. The argument our blessed Lord tendered to the Sadducees, seems to be of this nature; ‘Souls which still exist, have a natural tendency to draw their bodies back to them. Souls which God is the God of, still exist: therefore such souls have a natural tendency to draw their bodies back to them.’ No proof whatever is offered for the major premiss: the minor is proved from the Pentateuch, which the Sadducees admitted. This of course was a good argument against the Sadducees, because our Lord knew what was in their heart: but it would be no argument against a modern philosophaster, who denied the major, even if he did admit the minor. Here, however, it is merely adduced to shew, that when people deny tradition, the Scripture proofs offered to them will neither be as obvious, nor as cogent, as they might crave to have. If then the passage adduced by the ancients from holy writ, in support of the integrity of our Lady’s sacred womb, both after childbirth and during it, seems neither obvious nor cogent, let it be remem-

\* See Acts xxiii. 8.



bered, that those who throw overboard what God has ordered them to hold fast, must not complain, if by their own doing they have deprived themselves of light, nor be surprised if, when it is forfeited by their parents' doing, they cannot regain it all at once. Let it be remembered, moreover, that the explanations given imply the existence of the tradition. For the texts in support of it are adduced in doctrinal treatises, and not in commentaries merely, not to mention the numerous passages in which the doctrine in question is stated irrespectively of the texts. A few passages only shall be introduced here, in order to force it more distinctly upon the reader's mind, that the infant Jesus shewed a respect to the very flesh of his Mother which evinced him to be man, and shewed it by a miracle which proved him to be God.

7. Now the passage commonly adduced in proof of this doctrine is the passage of Ezekiel, which runs as follows: 'And he brought me back to the way of the gate of the outward sanctuary, which looked towards the east, and it was shut. And the Lord said to me, This gate shall be shut: it shall not be opened, and no man shall pass through it, because the Lord God of Israel hath entered by it, and it shall be shut for the prince. The prince himself shall sit in it, to eat bread before the Lord. He shall enter it by the way of the porch of the gate, and shall go out by the same way.' It is clear that the Prince here spoken of is the Lord God, because it is said that no *man* shall enter in by it. It is also distinctly said, that it shall be shut and not opened, and that the Prince will both enter and come forth by it. A person unacquainted with the traditionary interpretation of this passage, might fail to see any thing in it of the sacred conception and birth of our Lord. That he should

find any thing else to which it would apply, cannot be very likely: but if it be true that our Lord both entered and came forth from Mary's sacred womb, without doing the least scathe to its virginal integrity, then at least you have a key which will give an explanation to the passage. Christ is a Prince; he is the Lord God; he is spoken of as not man in other parts of Scripture<sup>f</sup>, to shew that the human nature was but accidental to his personality; he may be said to eat bread in this gate, because, when in Mary's womb, he was come to do God's will, and his meat is to do the will of his Father. He could not eat at all without his human nature: when therefore he uses the gate of the womb to pass through, he passes through it (shut as it is and always will be) with that human nature, and not with a nature devoid of bulk and corporeity<sup>g</sup>. Mary, moreover, is most fittingly called the outer sanctuary, when we consider that Daniel styles Christ's human nature the Holy of holies, which lay within the outer sanctuary. This explanation then, if it can be confirmed by tradition, ought to be satisfactory, because it cleans out so many details of the prophecy. In what has been said here upon it, an eye has been had to the Hebrew text, and any peculiarities of the Vulgate Version, which might seem to protestants untenable in the present state of Hebrew scholarship, have not been insisted upon. Some passages from the Fathers shall now be added, from which it will appear, that this text of Ezekiel was understood to apply to the Nativity in all parts of the world. We will begin with the more distant parts, and proceed homewards.

<sup>f</sup> See St. Cyril's words cited the Monothelite contended,  
in part i. chap. viii. §. 12. ap. Syn. Lateran i. Hard. iii.  
<sup>g</sup> As Theodorus Pharanita p. 767. d.

8. In the East, St. Ephrem, from the fact that we have only a line or two left on his commentary upon the chapter, probably had written a separate homily upon the text, this being, as he tells us upon Genesis, the reason why he is not full on some parts of Scripture. He held the doctrine taught in this text most strongly<sup>h</sup>. But Theodoret, who was brought up at Antioch, mentions in his Commentary on Ezekiel, "that it is *likely* that in this passage the womb of the Virgin also is hinted at, through which no one ever entered or went out, except the Lord himself." This is a strong admission from a person of Nestorian bias, as all the Nestorian party hated any thing in the shape of allegory, as the Adoptionists did afterwards<sup>i</sup>. But in after times, this title was bestowed in the office book of the Syrians upon the blessed Virgin: "Closed gate, whereby the Leader entered in, and came forth<sup>k</sup>." And St. John of Damascus has the following allusion to the same passage: "She was really, properly, and truly Mother of God, and is the mistress of all creatures, ranking as Handmaid and Mother of the Creator. And as when conceived he kept her who conceived him a virgin, so when he was born he kept her virginity unwounded, alone passing through it, and keeping it shut. . . . For he was not unable to go through the gate, and yet to keep the seals of it unscathed<sup>l</sup>." Of the fact, that this was so understood generally in the East, we may rest assured, when we see that so learned and able a divine as St. John, and one so thoroughly versed in the Greek Fathers, *alludes* to

<sup>h</sup> Vide Assem. Antirrhet. in Op. G. iii. p. lvii. and O. Trans. p. 115. comp. p. 85. e.

<sup>i</sup> See Hard. Concil. iv. p. 869. c. p. 876. e. Quid mirum si

stulti in his erratis quæ allegorica sunt sylva condensa, &c.

<sup>k</sup> Assem. l. c. p. lxi.

<sup>l</sup> F. O. iv. 14. and vol. ii. p. 843. e. p. 864. d.

it as a thing all would know. St. Gregory Nyssen, in his 'Texts against Jews<sup>m</sup>,' avails himself of this text to prove the miraculous birth of our Saviour. This also would shew, that it was a very common interpretation in the Greek Church, though we happen to have no Greek commentators upon Ezekiel left, except Theodoret.

9. But if we proceed to quote a writer, who was the prime mover of the holy war against Nestorius, and the sworn friend of St. Cyril, St. Proclus, we shall see, that he who never had the virus of Nestorianism in his system, writes far otherwise than Theodoret. In a sermon delivered in the presence of the heretic, he has the following words: "I see the miracles, and proclaim the Godhead: I see the sufferings, and deny not the manhood! But Immanuel [would have] opened the gates of nature as man, but the bars of virginity as God he burst not through. But so he came forth from the womb, as he entered in through the hearing. So was he born as he was conceived. Impassibly he entered, incorruptibly he came forth, according to the prophet Ezekiel, who said, 'The Lord turned me to the way of the outer gate of the sanctuary, which looked towards the east, and it was shut. And the Lord said to me, This gate shall be shut, it shall not be opened, and no one shall pass through it, but the Lord God of Israel alone, he shall enter in and come forth, and the gate shall be shut.' Behold a *clear demonstration* of Mary, holy Mother of God. Silenced *therefore* be all contradiction, and let us be enlightened with the knowledge of the Scriptures, that we may obtain the kingdom of heaven for ever and ever. Amen<sup>n</sup>."

<sup>m</sup> Cap. iii. p. 303. Zacagni. have ventured to render ἀνέωξεν,

<sup>n</sup> Ap. Mercat. ii. p. 24. I as if an ἄν had dropped out

10. In the West the same passage is far more clearly and frequently applied, to prove the physical integrity of our Lady even after the sacred Child-birth. Thus St. Ambrose in a sermon on Christmas day, cited by John Cassian, whom his friend Leo, afterwards Pope, had employed to confute Nestorianism in the West. "Behold the miracle of our Lord's Mother! She conceived a virgin, she brought forth a virgin: a virgin when she conceives, a virgin when pregnant, a virgin after childbirth: as in Ezekiel it is said; and the gate was shut and was not opened, for the Lord passed through it°." That these sentiments are Ambrose's is plain, not from this fragment only, but from what he says elsewhere, as follows, after citing the passage: "What is this gate, but Mary, therefore shut, because a virgin? Mary is the gate then by which Christ entered this world, although he was shed by a virginal birth, and loosed not the bars of virginity through which he was born. Untouched did the barrier of modesty remain, and inviolate did the seals of integrity continue, when he, whose loftiness the whole world could not sustain,

before it: but it is tolerably intelligible without. I have not noticed some Greek authors, Canisius, ii. 6. and A. Lapide in loc. refer to, because they are dubious, if not spurious, works: nor Hesychius of Jerusalem, (B. P. xii. p. 664. p. 666. d.) for similar reasons.

° De Inc. lib. vii. p. 1292. This sermon of St. Ambrose is also used by the author of Serm. 121. in Append. August. ad vol. v. p. 155. compare ad Serm. 194. Aug. *ibid.* p. 626. A hymn of his, on Christmas day, is cited by the Franckfort

Fathers, Hard. iv. p. 889. c. (Geminæ gigas substantiæ alacris ut currat viam) apparently in the same strain of thought as this, alludes to Ps. xviii. 6, 7. where the bridegroom coming from his chamber is commonly taken of Christ coming from the womb. (St. Ildephonsus, de Perp. Virg. cap. 3. puts the two texts together, as does St. Isidore, l. c.) But I cannot trace the metre (iambic tetram. brachyc.) in the fragment Cassian or the others give.

came forth from the virgin<sup>p</sup>." St. Jerome, who had had so much intercourse with learned men of all parts, follows the other Latin Fathers in this: like Nyssen, he uses the text in controversy. "Christ alone opened the gates of the Virgin's womb, which, however, remained for ever shut. This is that Eastern gate through which the High Priest alone enters and comes forth, and which is nevertheless always shut<sup>q</sup>." If they deny this, "Let them tell me in reply, How Jesus entered when the gates were shut, when he shewed his hands for them to feel, his side, his bones, and his flesh for them to contemplate, that the real body might not be thought a phantom; and then I will tell them, how the Holy Mary was both virgin and mother; a virgin after childbirth, a mother before she was married<sup>r</sup>." Similar remarks are made by the Saint upon the passage of Ezekiel, and also upon Isaias<sup>s</sup>.

11. If we pass now to his correspondent St. Austin, we shall find him alluding to the same conviction that Mary is intended by Ezekiel, and perhaps to the sermon of his master St. Ambrose, above quoted: "Some people get so excited [about Christ passing through the shut doors], that they pretty nearly risk bringing the prejudices formed from their own reasonings against God's miracles. For they argue as follows: 'If it was a body, if it was flesh and bones; if that, which hung on the wood, rose from the sepulchre; how could it enter through the closed doors? If it could not *be*, then in fact it was not, done. If it could be done,

<sup>p</sup> De Inst. Virg. cap. 8. The words *intererat* et *inviolata*, shew why the *two* terms are used in the Litany: the one refers to the miraculous con-

ception, the other to the miraculous birth, of our Lord.

<sup>q</sup> c. Pelag. Dial. ii. §. 4.

<sup>r</sup> Ad Pammach. Ep. xlviii. fin.

<sup>s</sup> Chap. vii. 14.

*how* could it? If you understand how, then it is no miracle; and if you think it no miracle, you are close upon denying that he rose from the sepulchre. Consider the miracles of your Lord from the beginning, and give me an account of each of them. No man came near, yet a virgin conceived. Give me an account how the Virgin conceived without a male. Where there is a falling short of reason, there it is that there is an edifying of faith. You have one miracle, you see, in the Lord's conception. Hear also of one in his birth. A Virgin brought forth Christ, a virgin she remained. Even then the Lord, before he rose again, was *born through closed doors*†. S. Isidore in Spain says, in his book against the Jews, "We believe that Mary was a virgin before childbirth, and remained a virgin after it": as Ezekiel the prophet testifies: 'I turned me to the way of the gate, &c. &c.' by which text he confesses, that holy Mary both conceived a Virgin, and remained a virgin."

12. Thus it is found to be stated in very different parts of the world, that the same doctrine is contained in this passage of Ezekiel, and this will prepare the reader for reflecting, whether the body in which God had so recently done such a miracle, might not have exhibited itself in a glorified state upon his birth-day to his Mother. With regard, however, to the state in which our Lord's body appeared to the blessed Virgin, it should be said, that there is no clear tradition upon the subject. Origen\* mentions, not as an idea of his own, which in so fanciful a writer would be good for nothing, but as a tradition, that Christ was transfigured several times in his life in the

† Serm. cccxlvii. §. 2.

\* See above, p. 218. n. u.

‡ c. Jud. i. 10. fin.

presence of those worthy of seeing him in that state. This assertion has been sometimes explained away by heretics, but taken in its natural sense it is not at variance with Catholic doctrine, and, when viewed in connection with a rule regarding the blessed Virgin, will make it credible that she enjoyed such a privilege at the Nativity. That rule is, that whatever gift God gave to any of his saints, that it is not incredible that he should give to his own Mother. Upon this view also, the following words of St. Ephrem are intelligible: ‘How shall I bring to swaddling clothes one wrapped round with glory-rays?’ These words he puts in our Lady’s mouth at the Nativity, and they seem scarcely capable of bearing any other plain meaning. Indeed, there does not seem any thing to jar with Catholic teaching in a supposition which might be raised upon this, that our Lady had power to order her Son to transfigure himself when she pleased. The Mother of discretion, as St. Ephrem styles her, would know perfectly well how to avoid a display of such power before people unfitted to see it. As for herself, she had already been trusted with far greater power; when she made her Son’s grace issue on to St. John in the womb, it was a greater exercise of power, than it would be to bid a divine glory blush into that body, which was the natural heir to it. Moreover, even if none but herself had been worthy to see it, it is probable, that she was entirely alone when she brought forth her First-born, St. Joseph having gone, as she assured St. Bridgett, into the town to get her some necessaries. If she saw it herself, she would have learnt, from the case of Manue’s wife<sup>7</sup>, what a husband’s wish would have been upon his return, and affectionately anticipated

<sup>7</sup> Judg. xiii. 2. sq.



the expression of his wishes by a command to her Son to repeat the favour in St. Joseph's sight.

13. This supposition is mentioned here, merely to bring distinctly out what power might be most naturally attributed to the blessed Virgin, and is not to be taken as an assertion that such power actually was displayed. There might be a thousand reasons why it should not be displayed: but there is nothing wrong in putting even imaginations together which help us to linger over the birth of our Saviour, and put it more vividly before the mind<sup>2</sup>. Only it must be remembered, that before such things can be insisted upon as credible facts, there must be far clearer tradition in their favour than any here alleged. It may be added, that if our Lady had this power, we can assign a reason for the Evangelist Matthew telling us, that the wise men found the young child with Mary his Mother; St. Joseph, who was present when the shepherds came in, may have been at his work when the wise men arrived. It was enough for her to be with him who could bid him transfigure himself before them, and force these heathen worshippers, if necessary, by an outward sight as well as by an inward illumination, to fall down and adore him. There was no stint whatever to her power over her Son, except her own prudence and goodness. If what is somewhat imaginative will serve to bring this great truth vividly before us, the scaffolding may be removed as soon as it is deeply graven upon our hearts. Perhaps one reason why God was incarnate at all, was on purpose

<sup>2</sup> Thus, for instance, there is nothing wrong in teaching the people to suppose that our Lady was present at the Ascension, though there is no proof

for it in Scripture or tradition, and many reasons against it may be alleged: it is 'meditativum.'

that we might imagine scenes in his life, not described in Scripture, and so be furnished with an antidote to imaginations which Satan will suggest<sup>a</sup> to us. All we have to take care of is, that we imitate the obedience of the Child Jesus, and do not transfigure our own humble conceptions of things into doctrines, till the Church our Mother sanctions our doing so.

14. These considerations will enable us better to conceive the adoration the blessed Virgin paid to her divine Son as soon as he was born. The adorableness of that sacred flesh depended, as we have seen in the First Part, upon its union with the divine nature. Mary saw with her eyes before herself God, in that flesh which he had taken from herself. She had learnt from numberless inspirations during his residence in her womb<sup>b</sup>, all that he had come to do and to suffer for us. He ceased to be any longer in that close and perpetual contact with her, which, as has been argued above, would have filled a woman of no extraordinary goodness with almost infinite graces. But her soul was by that time raised to such an eminence, as not to need any more that continuous bodily contact, even as the souls of the blessed do not need the Holy Sacrament to continue them in love. He had come forth miraculously from his chamber, rejoicing like a giant to run his course. Already he had thoroughly endocrinated her whole soul with his own love for sinners:

\* If any one wants to feel the importance of peopling his mind with imaginary scenes in Christ's life, let him weigh well the following words of St. Gregory, "*Sæpe quod nunquam fecimus per hostis calidi insidias cordis oculis videmus. Cumque insensibiliter in*

*hoc delectatio surripit, quamvis jam plangat quæ fecerit, tædet tamen infelicem animum quædam non fecisse quæ plangat.*" Epist. ix. 52. where are further admirable observations.

<sup>b</sup> *εἰδύια τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ γενόμενον.* Athan. in Luc. Fragm. vol. iv. p. 33. Padua.

whatever then she felt, certainly no selfish thoughts at parting with her sacred burden entered the soul of Mary. If he could have given her no more graces, she would have been ready to have parted with him for sinners' sakes, and to have adored him for his redeeming love. If while he was within her she had rested, it may be, from kneeling down, now she was free to feel herself a mere creature again: what a feast of humility must it have been to her, no longer to have the Person of the Almighty Son so mixed up with her own personality, that the Roman law, under which she lived, would not have considered him a separate person! She had often read in the Law, 'Let all the Angels of God worship him'; and knew beyond a doubt, perhaps saw in a vision, that the Angels were then fulfilling that command: she knew that God had not said to any one of them, Thou art my Mother, this day hast thou begotten me; he owed them no allegiance, as he did to her: yet the very presence of so many glorious creatures would only make her feel more deeply the humiliation of her Eternal Son, without whom not one of them was made, who had now made himself a little lower than the Angels. And what was she after all but a creature, to whom her Almighty Son was giving an example of humility! It was a humbling thing for the ruler of an omnipotent Subject to be forced to be Queen of Angels, not because it was beneath her to exercise authority over them, but because the extreme humiliation of her Son would make her covetous of disgrace, and ambitious of disrespect.

\* I say this, because though these words were not in the Hebrew text of Deut. xxxii. 43. St. Paul could not have quoted

them in writing to Hebrews as authoritative, unless they were generally received as such among the Jews.

15. I am, of course, not saying here what Mary did feel, but am arguing upon the absurd supposition upon which we are reasoning throughout, viz. that she was only a good woman. The desire to know who was conceived within her, and to know him perfectly, would imply the desire to imitate him before he was born. The sight of him would stimulate that desire. It is absurd to suppose, that Jesus came to be among his disciples as one that serveth, and would not obey the least wish of his Mother. It is absurd to suppose his soul filled with wisdom from the beginning, and knowing what was in man, and yet to suppose he did not know his Mother's wishes. Strip Mary then, if you please, of all supernatural graces before the Incarnation, take from this spiritual Esther all the sweet odours of God's love, by which she had been prepared for nine months' continual contact with God's flesh, make her nothing better, if you will, than a good nun, nay, degrade her still farther, and leave her the humility of a serious protestant only; and still at the end of those nine months she must have been raised to a sublime dignity through the obedience of a dutiful Almighty, through the foolishness of an infant God, which was wiser than men, wiser than Adam, than Solomon, or than Daniel. Either deny then that the doctrine of human merit is abominable, or else believe in one Lord Jesus Christ, full of grace and truth from the first: either deny that he was thus full of grace, or else believe that he filled the Baptist with it at Mary's bidding: either deny that he was wiser than Adam at the beginning of his creation, or else assert in good earnest the foolishness of God for making himself obedient to a woman.

16. To bring the real thoughts of Mary vividly

before us poor sinful creatures, as she adored her Son new-born, every one must see would be impossible, even upon the foolish supposition with which we have started. Nevertheless, as St. Ephrem has put a beautiful address into her mouth upon this occasion, which lifts our hearts towards Mary's, though it will not really shew us hers, what sinners might not like to utter may find its vent in these words of the Saint. "Who hath given me the barren, that I should conceive and bring forth this one that is manifold, this little one that is great; seeing he is wholly with me, and wholly every where! The day that Gabriel came in to my low estate, he made me free instead of handmaid of a sudden: for I was the handmaid of thy Divine Nature, and am also the Mother of thy human nature, O Lord and Son! Of a sudden the handmaid became the King's daughter in thee, thou Son of the King. Lo! the meanest of the house of David, by reason of thee, thou Son of David, lo! a daughter of the earth, has attained to heaven by the heavenly one! How am I astonished that there is cast before me a Child older than all things! His eye is gazing unceasingly upon heaven, and as for the stammering of his mouth, to my seeming it betokens that with God its silence speaks. Whoever saw a child, the whole of whom beholdeth every place? His look is like one that is ordering all creatures that are above and that are below! his visage like that commander that commandeth all! How shall I open the fountain of milk to thee, O Fountain? or how shall I give nourishment to thee that nourishest all from thy table? How shall I bring to swaddling clothes one wrapped round with glory-rays? My mouth knoweth not how I

shall call thee, O thou Child of the Living One : for to venture to call thee as the Child of Joseph, I tremble, since thou art not his seed : and I am fearful of denying the name of him to whom they have betrothed me. Whiles thou art the Son of One, then should I be calling thee the Son of many. For ten thousand names would not suffice thee, since thou art the Son of God, and also the Son of man, yea, David's Son and Mary's Lord. Who hath made the Lord of mouths to be without a mouth ? For thy pure conception of thee wicked men have slandered me. Be, O thou Holy One, a Speaker for thy Mother. Shew a miracle, that they may be persuaded from whom it is that I conceived thee ! For thy sake too I am hated, thou Lover of all. Lo ! I am persecuted, who have conceived and brought forth One House of refuge for men. Adam will rejoice, for thou art the Key of Paradise. Lo ! the sea raged against thy Mother as against Jonah. Lo ! Herod, that raging wave, sought to drown the Lord of the seas. Whither I shall flee thou shalt teach me, O Lord of thy Mother. With thee I will flee, that I may gain in thee Life in every place. The prison with thee is no prison, for in thee man goeth up unto Heaven : the grave with thee is no grave, for thou art the Resurrection <sup>d</sup> !"

17. It is perfectly plain from these words, that St. Ephrem regarded our Lady as fully conscious of her Son's dignity and power, and did not regard her as some do, as giving flesh to the Wisdom of God, and gaining nothing in return. God was not so ungenerous as to take her best, and not give his

<sup>d</sup> R. iv. in Nativ. O. T. p. 28, did not know of this passage, 29. It is lucky for the Oriental for it does not favour Nestorianism. party at Ephesus, that Cyril

best back in return. Again, when she had parted with him, it was for our sakes: the love she felt for us poor sinners doubtless increased amazingly the joy she felt at the Nativity. Had it been God's will that women should be priests, she could have crucified him then with her own hands out of love for us, as she actually did inflict upon him the pain of circumcision. This love no doubt would display itself in prayer for us: her Son had come to be a Mediator, and no doubt she would have drawn from him as much mediatorial virtue as it was possible for a creature to contain. In what precise way she continued to grow in this grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ, we need not determine: whether Christ by a special privilege secured to her the real presence of himself within her before the institution of the Lord's Supper, or whether his mere presence in the house secured to her, so apt a recipient, some extraordinary supplies of grace, or whether he put forth his Almighty power in her behalf in some other way, need not be decided. As there was nothing in the reality of his flesh to prevent its putting forth at his Nativity powers analogous to those displayed by it after his Resurrection, so it might have been within Mary's power to bid him put forth then powers analogous to those displayed before his Crucifixion. Whether he really did so, then, is a question which cannot be answered in the negative from Christ's want of power, though possibly it might be answered from Mary's want of will. For knowing, in "the depths of her own skill," the order of God's Providence, humility might have withheld her from disturbing that order, and reliance upon God's infinite resources have rendered it unnecessary. As Christ was not going to ordain her

a priest, it might be confusion to be communicated before the priest, or even to enjoy Christ's sacramental presence within her, which is, in the order of Providence, the sequel of communion.

18. Leaving then these thoughts, which are chiefly useful as forcing upon us the reflection, that the cave of Bethlehem teemed with mysteries, which the light of glory in the beatific vision can alone exhaust, let us turn to some more obvious channels of grace which Mary enjoyed. The touch of Jesus was, we know, enough to communicate graces to those who touched him worthily. Now Mary, protestants will allow, was better and more worthy than a Syrophenician woman: if the dogs ate what fell from the Master's table, what must the Mother not have gained? When she wrapped Jesus in swaddling clothes, she touched him several times: each time she gained new graces. We find, moreover, that handkerchiefs brought from the body of St. Paul conveyed the grace of healing: supposing (detestable as the supposition is) that Mary had to bewail the loss of some portion of the grace gained, still the touch of the clothes only, in which God Almighty was wrapped up, would have instantly cured her sorrow and its cause. Moreover, children require nourishment soon after their birth, and Mary would have had to put her breast (where we feel more than any where the glow of love) to those lips full of the outpourings of grace: a simple act of faith is all we need suppose in Mary to secure herself fresh graces again every time Jesus was hungry. It is likely also that the divine Infant would have drawn the milk slowly to him, that he might feast his soul with communicating grace, more than his body with

• Ps. xlv. "הוצק חן בשפ."



the nourishment communicated to him. Furthermore, Jesus would not strive or cry as other infants born in sin do ; therefore he must have used some sign to have made his Mother know when he wanted nourishment. Probably he touched her sacred breast : and who can say what lights and graces would flow from the finger of God, which cast out devils from impure souls, and opened the eyes of the blind, and could much more easily infuse new light and grace into a soul already on fire with love. Again, Mary would have to move the Child from place to place, and sometimes keep him against her breast for a considerable time together. When she gave him to the shepherds to kiss and nurse, she gained several graces from him in a short time : when she carried him from the cave to the town where she entertained the wise men with a banquet of love, she had him for a longer time at her breast. These are not fancies, but things absolutely necessary to have taken place on several occasions.

19. The mind, not completely spoilt by false philosophy and vain deceit according to the tradition of men, must allow that it is natural and right to bring before ourselves the truth of the Incarnation, by following the steps of Jesus from his cradle to his grave. God gave us the power of imagination, which may be increased by use to almost any extent : all have it more or less, and if we do not store and fill it with things sacred, the devil, as if to prove that we have some imagination, will store and fill it with things lurid and obscene. Nothing created is so sacred as the human nature of Christ : but next to it and below it, nothing is so sacred as Mary the Mother of Jesus. No person with a natural heart could possibly have gone into the cave at Bethlehem a Catholic, and

come out of it a protestant. Let a protestant turn the imagination God has given him towards this sacred spot, as he cannot see it with his senses as it then was ; and if he has a natural unaffected heart, Mary will have brought forth another son, before he leaves it.

END OF VOL. I.









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